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Into U.S. Hall of Fame
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4 U.S. Professors Kidnapped In Beirut; Death Threatened

LATE NEWS

Police Question Winnie Mandela

SOWETO, South Africa (Reuters) — Winnie Mandela, the wife of the jailed South African black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, was held by police for questioning Sunday but was released later, her lawyer said. A police spokesman said that Mrs. Mandela had not been arrested or detained.

Her lawyer, Ismail Ayob, said that police had searched Mrs. Mandela's home near Johannesburg for more than two hours before taking her to Soweto's main police station, then returned to get her daughter, Zindzi, and a filing cabinet containing personal papers.

INSIDE TODAY

GENERAL NEWS ■ Mandela's cardinal called on the Aquino government to act on land reform. Page 2. ■ China's Communists expelled a leading journalist known for his exposés of corruption in the party ranks. Page 2.

BUSINESS/FINANCE ■ U.S. and EC negotiators failed to settle a trade dispute but hope to reach agreement this week. Page 7. ■ France seems to be trying to dampen speculation in Panbras bank group, which is being sold to the public. Page 7.

INSIGHTS ■ U.S. arms sales to Iran involved cooperation between Saudi Arabia and Israel, an interlocutor said.

University Classes Are Suspended to Protest Abduction

By Nozi Bouszary
Washington Post Service

BEIRUT — With four professors — three of them Americans and the fourth an Indian-born U.S. resident — having been kidnapped Saturday, Beirut University College suspended classes indefinitely Sunday to protest the abductions.

Students and teachers called on all educational institutions here to shut their doors in solidarity.

The four were identified as Alain Stein, 46, professor of journalism; Jessie Turner, assistant professor of computer science and mathematics; Robert Polhill, 56, professor of business studies and accounting; and Mithileshwar Singh, chairman of the business school.

It was the largest single kidnapping of Americans in this city, and brought to 25 the number of foreigners held hostage. At least eight are Americans.

The wives of the four teachers, who witnessed the kidnapping by gunmen, asked the abductors Sunday to release their husbands and to supply two of them with badly needed medication. Mr. Polhill is a diabetic and Mr. Singh reportedly has low blood pressure.

A group calling itself the Organization of the Oppressed on Earth warned in a telephone call to the Christian Voice of Lebanon radio station that it would execute one of the hostages unless Mohammad Al Hamade, 22, a Shiite Lebanese arrested Jan. 13 in Frankfurt, was released.

This group has previously claimed, in written statements accompanied by photographs, the abduction and execution of Jewish Lebanese citizens. There was nothing to validate the authenticity of the calls Sunday.

Two West Germans have been abducted, Rudolf Cordon on Jan. 17 and Alfred Schmidt on Jan. 21, apparently in retaliation for the arrest of Mr. Hamade. His extradition is being sought by the United States on air piracy and murder charges in connection with the 17-day hijacking of the TWA airliner in 1985. A U.S. Navy diver was killed in the hijacking.

The kidnappers Saturday took place after the gunmen gained access to the Beirut University College campus by dressing as members of Lebanon's Internal Security Force and asking to confer with foreign professors in order "to advise them and coordinate" security matters, college sources said.

They entered the main gate for the first time at noon, riding in a police van, and returned in the late afternoon. They advised foreigners on campus against leaving the grounds for security reasons, college sources said.

"They showed up another time to meet and talk things over," said Mohammed Yakan, the university's director of development. Minutes later, the four teachers were taken to the lower campus gate, forced into the van at gunpoint and driven away, security guards and witnesses said.

Beirut University College is the second-largest university in Lebanon, dominated west Beirut. Its campus is three blocks south of the American University of Beirut, from which other Americans have been kidnapped.

Aid officials in Nairobi said the French medical team had been in the camp since April. There are believed to be 50,000 to 80,000 refugees at Tug Wajale.

(Reuters, AP)

Sister Barbara, returning a shot, retained his Australian Open title Sunday. Hana Mandlikova had upset Martina Navratilova to win the women's title. Page 13.

REUTERS

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China Party Expels Leading Journalist Known for Exposés

By Edward A. Gargan
New York Times Service

BEIJING — The Chinese Communist Party has expelled a prominent journalist known for his scathing attacks on corruption in party ranks.

As the campaign against intellectual dissidence accelerated, it was disclosed Sunday that Lin Binyan, a muckraking reporter for People's Daily whose writing is often seared with a novelist's passion, became the third prominent intellectual to be purged from the party in the political upheaval that has unseated Hu Yaobang, formerly the leader of the party.

Mr. Lin and two other leading intellectuals, Fang Lizhi and Wang Ruzhong, were denounced by Deng Xiaoping, China's leader, on Jan. 13 during a meeting with a visiting Japanese official. Mr. Fang, a university vice president, and Mr. Wang, a Shanghai writer, have since been expelled from the party.

Mr. Lin was accused of violating party principles and discipline. Chinese sources said he was being investigated on other charges, although they were uncertain whether he would be accused of criminal conduct or counterrevolutionary behavior. Both actions are punishable by imprisonment.

Chinese sources said that over the next two weeks the government-controlled press would conduct attacks on 10 prominent intellectuals known for criticizing rigid party orthodoxy.

Mr. Lin is a vice chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association. He became something of a folk hero to millions of Chinese for his exposés of greed and corruption in the Communist Party.

According to the official Xinhua news agency, Mr. Lin, 62, was formally expelled on Friday by the party discipline inspection committee of People's Daily, the party's official newspaper.

The agency reported that he "made speeches and wrote articles on many occasions in violation of the party constitution, discipline and resolutions."

He was also charged with criticizing a set of ideological precepts that declare inviolable the primacy of the Communist Party, the adherence to socialism, the permanence of the "people's democratic dictatorship," and the dominance of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tsetung.

Mr. Lin, the news agency said, attacked these four cardinal principles as "outdated, rigid and dogmatic concepts and worn-out

phrases that have led China to calamities several times."

"He also vilified the Communist Party as 'having degenerated,'" the agency said. "Lin gravely violated the journalistic principle of respecting facts and cross-checking to make facts accurate. Lin even went so far as to fabricate facts to attack the party and confound readers unaware of the truth."

In one of his most celebrated investigations, Mr. Lin uncovered a network of bribery and influence-peddling run by a party secretary in Manchuria. The secretary, Wang Shouxin, was found to have embezzled large sums of money.

At the time, party officials linked to Mr. Wang accused Mr. Lin of slandering socialism and defaming the party. In the end, Mr. Wang was sentenced to death.

One of Mr. Lin's books under attack, "A Second Kind of Loyalty," questions the pervasive emphasis on blind obedience to party leaders. The book is being denounced as undermining the prestige and legitimacy of the party.

Among the other intellectuals who will be targeted in coming weeks, according to Chinese sources, are Wang Ruzhong, a former deputy editor of People's Daily, and Yu Guangyuan, an economist and member of the Central Advisory Committee of the Communist Party.

■ Student Arrested

China announced Sunday that a university student had been arrested for allegedly passing intelligence material to an American Journalist, Reuters reported from Beijing.

The Xinhua news agency said that Lin He, a student in Tianjin, was charged with "providing intelligence" to Lawrence MacDonald, a reporter for Agence France-Presse.

It said the authorities had collected "conclusive evidence" of the student's "secret collusion" with Mr. MacDonald, who has been working in Beijing for about two years.

Mr. MacDonald was scheduled to return to Beijing from Hong Kong on Sunday but apparently decided not to make the trip after the student's arrest was announced.

The Chinese report made no specific accusation against Mr. MacDonald, but a Western diplomat said the tough phrasing of the report indicated that the Chinese authorities could be intending to charge him. The diplomat said that, in China, "a person who receives a state secret is as culpable as a person who offers it."



The Associated Press
Greenpeace released this photo of members unloading gear Sunday at Cape Evans, where the group set up a camp in its effort to get the Antarctic declared a world park.

Greenpeace Presses for an Antarctic Park

Resumes

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — Scientists from the environmental organization Greenpeace arrived in the Antarctic on Sunday in an attempt to have the frozen continent declared a world park.

The group's protest ship, the Greenpeace, was anchored off Cape Evans on Ross Island, and the crew began unloading gear for construction of a base, said the coordinator of the expedition, Peter Wilkinson.

Mr. Wilkinson said it would take about a month

to build the installation. The four Greenpeace scientists plan to spend the seven-month-long summer studying fish populations, krill and body-heat loss.

By undertaking scientific research and establishing a year-round camp, Greenpeace aims to focus attention on dangers to Antarctica's environment and to have the continent declared a world park. Greenpeace attempted the project last year but failed to reach Cape Evans because of heavy pack ice.

Gorbachev Assails Aides On Farming

By Philip Taubman
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, has rebuked Soviet farm officials for failing to reverse chronic agricultural problems, Tass reported.

The Soviet news agency said Sunday that Mr. Gorbachev and other leaders, addressing a special agriculture conference on Friday, said the Soviet Union could not wait for a slow modernization of the farm economy.

"As to the food problem, comrades, we must get it moving," Mr. Gorbachev said. "We have been marching in place too long and have literally stuck fast in these matters."

Referring to farm production in the first half of the decade, he said, "The whole of the 11th five-year plan period was a wheelspin."

He added, "We have been stalled since 1972, especially since 1975."

Mr. Gorbachev, who was party secretary for agriculture from 1979 to 1985, has generally been regarded as the architect of the farm economy.

Western diplomats said his remarks and the special meeting Friday suggested an intensified effort to deal with food shortages and the array of problems that produce them. These include inefficient farm management, processing and distribution systems and a subsidized pricing system that makes it cheaper for farmers to feed pigs with bread than grain, they said.

Mr. Gorbachev announced that a Central Committee meeting would begin Tuesday to deal with party organization, discipline and personnel matters.

Such a meeting was originally expected in December, and it has become a subject of speculation because of the unusual delay and reports that policy and personnel changes advocated by Mr. Gorbachev had encountered opposition.

There have been reports of an imminent leadership shake-up with Mr. Gorbachev, party general secretary since 1985, completing his consolidation of power by replacing the last holdovers of the 1964-1982 Brezhnev era.

Yegor K. Ligachev, the second-ranking party leader, criticized farm production in the Ukraine at Friday's meeting. He said that party officials in the Ukraine had been "intolerably slow" in reorganizing agriculture along the new agribusiness lines, in which crop production is combined in management with processing and distribution.

He said the Ukraine, once a source of excess grain, had become a consumer of grain produced in other regions, a reversal considered unacceptable. The Ukrainian party chief, Vladimir V. Shcherbytsky, is one of the members of the Politburo who rose to national prominence when Leonid I. Brezhnev the party general secretary.

Moscow reported recently that the grain harvest in 1986 was 210.1 metric tons (231.1 short tons), up from 191.7 million metric tons in 1985, and the best since 1979. The Soviet Union has resumed the publication of grain figures after imposing secrecy in the early 1980s to conceal poor results.

The grain crop during the four-year period 1981-84, it now turns out, averaged only 177.2 million metric tons.

Papandreu Is Willing To Discuss U.S. Bases

By Henry Kamm
New York Times Service

ATHENS — Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu has told parliament that Greece would be prepared to negotiate with the United States for the continuation of American military bases on what he called a "zero basis."

Mr. Papandreu, a Socialist, said this meant the United States would have to negotiate as if the bases were nonexistent after the expiration of the present agreement in December 1988.

Despite the warning, the announcement indicated a readiness by Mr. Papandreu to envision the presence of the four major military installations after the agreement expires.

Since Mr. Papandreu became the leader of the Greek left on the return of democracy in 1974, he has increasingly conveyed an impression that the future of the bases was negotiable. But until Friday, when he was defending his government's foreign and military policy against opposition criticism in the parliament, he has withheld public statements on the matter.

The prime minister also sought to justify his apparent reconsideration of a commitment to withdraw from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Greece will not do that, he said in parliament, because such a move might provoke a war with Turkey.

"Greece is not quitting NATO now for national security reasons, which compel us to stay in the alliance, and not because we are in a clash between East and West," Mr. Papandreu said. "No matter how strange, impossible and unique it might seem, that a two-NATO member states might resort to war it is equally certain that such a conflict would be almost inevitable if Greece withdraws from NATO."

The prime minister did not elaborate, but it was presumed that he meant a Greek withdrawal might embolden Turkey to attack.

The principal advantage to Greeks for agreeing to keep the American bases are U.S. military credits. The credits, which in this fiscal year amounted to \$432 million, are unlikely to continue if Greece removes the bases.

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Aquino Urged By Cardinal To Act on Land Reform

By Keith B. Richburg
Washington Post Service

MANILA — Cardinal Jaime L. Sin, the archbishop of Manila, said Sunday the government's failure to carry out a land reform program was "in great measure" responsible for last week's shooting deaths of at least 12 demonstrators near the presidential palace.

As the cardinal made his remarks, about a hundred demonstrators carried empty black coffins to Mendiola Bridge, the scene of the shooting, and unveiled a black banner that read: "Happy birthday Cory" in grim reference to President Corazon C. Aquino's 54th birthday Sunday.

In a strong pastoral letter, read at the Manila Cathedral, Cardinal Sin said: "We urge our government, in the wake of this tragedy, to turn its attention to the issues of land reform and the concerns most seriously related with it."

The government's "credibility," he said, depends upon "its sincerity and readiness to act in this area."

"We realize that what has been

WORLD BRIEFS

Spanish Students Plan More Protests

MADRID (Reuters) — Leaders of the high-school student protests in Spain said Sunday that more protests were planned for this week, and a poll published by the newspaper *El País* showed that 67 percent of the Spaniards questioned believed that students had legitimate grievances. Thirteen percent backed the government.

The Student Union leader, Juan Ignacio Ramos, said students would boycott classes Monday to demand the resignation of Interior Minister José Barriomero Peña, whom they hold responsible for the police action Friday that left 24 injured in Madrid.

A rival group, Student Coordinator, has called for an indefinite strike and a protest meeting in Madrid on Tuesday and has demanded the resignation of Education Minister José María Marañón Herrero.

U.K. Conservatives Gain in Survey

LONDON (AP) — The Conservative Party held an eight-point lead over the opposition Labor Party in an opinion poll published Sunday in The Observer. The weekly newspaper said it was the best showing Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's party had made in a poll in more than two years.

The *Observer* poll showed the Conservatives with 44 percent, Labor with 36 percent and the centrist alliance of Social Democrats and Liberals with 18 percent. On Friday, however, Labor had a five-point lead over the Conservatives in a Gallup poll commissioned by the Daily Telegraph.

The *Observer* poll of 1,093 voters was carried out Tuesday to Thursday nationwide. The Conservatives won re-election in 1983 with 44 percent of the vote. Mrs. Thatcher has to call a general election by June 1988 and is widely expected to do so this year.

Peres to Meet EC Ministers in Brussels

BRUSSELS (AP) — Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of Israel will meet European Community foreign ministers here Monday amid skepticism about his call for a more active European role in bringing peace to the Middle East, diplomats said Sunday.

Mr. Peres was to be in Brussels for annual consultations between the European Community and Israel on political and economic issues. Before formally meeting the ministers, he is to have talks with Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans of Belgium, the current president of the EC Council of Ministers.

During a visit to London last week, Mr. Peres received a cool response from British leaders to his call for greater European involvement in the Middle East. Diplomats said most other EC nations shared the British attitude, although Mr. Tindemans has said that EC ministers would meet to discuss if there is room for a European bid to re-activate Middle East peace efforts.

A policeman guarded Kuwait airport as officials arrived.

A policeman guarded Kuwait airport as officials arrived.

Bombing Precedes Kuwait Meeting

KUWAIT (NYT) — A small bomb exploded behind a police station here two days before a meeting of leaders of Moslem nations was scheduled to begin Monday.

Although the bomb appeared to cause no serious damage or injuries on Saturday, it appeared likely to increase the tension surrounding the meeting of The Islamic Conference Organization. Iran is boycotting the meeting and several terrorist groups, including the Islamic Jihad, have threatened Kuwait if the meeting goes ahead.

On Jan. 19, three bombs went off at about the same time at Kuwait's main oil refinery on the island of Sea Island and two other oil installations, setting fires that reportedly caused serious damage.

Japan Drops Cap on Military Budget

TOKYO (NYT) — Japan has formally dropped a policy that had put a cap on yearly increases in military spending. But it coupled the action with a promise to stay "a peace-loving nation."

A government statement said Saturday, "The fundamental defense concept of Japan under its Peace Constitution is to maintain an exclusive defensive posture and not to become a military power that presents a threat to other nations."

The statement was intended to deflect criticism as Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's cabinet did away with a decade-old requirement that had confined the annual military budget to less than 1 percent of the Japanese gross national product. The policy, established in 1976, was breached for the first time last month when the government approved a \$23 billion military budget for 1987, equivalent to 1.04 percent of projections for the GNP, which measures the total value of a nation's goods and services.

The final death toll may never be accurately determined. But it is clear that the shootings became the most severe crisis of Mrs. Aquino's presidency, at a time when she is trying to mobilize public support for a new constitution scheduled for a plebiscite on Feb. 2.</p

Hospitalized CIA Chief Expected to Quit Soon

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — William J. Casey, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, who is recuperating after the removal of a cancerous brain tumor, will "reign soon," according to a Republican source close to the Reagan administration.

The source said Mr. Casey, 73, would return home from Georgetown University Hospital this week and soon afterward offer his resignation to President Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Casey is a close friend and confidant of Mr. Reagan and served as manager of his 1980 presidential campaign.

A senior White House official said that he was "aware of reports that Mr. Casey may resign" and that "the president will be guided by his wishes."

The CIA denied Friday that Mr. Casey would resign as early as this week.

Officially, White House aides have maintained that no search is under way for a successor to Mr. Casey. But officials acknowledged last week that the White House chief of staff, Donald T. Regan, had talked with Howard H. Baker Jr., the former Senate Republican leader from Tennessee, about taking the job.

According to sources, Mr. Baker insisted that the request be made by the president rather than by Mr. Regan. These sources said that Mr. Regan, either through a misunderstanding or deliberately, then told the president that Mr. Baker was not interested in the job.

Mr. Regan then called Mr. Baker and told him he was sorry he was not interested in the job, the sources said.

The source said that Mr. Casey would resign soon identified three potential replacements: William H. Webster, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; Senator Malcolm Wallop, Republican of Wyoming; and John G. Tower, former Republican senator of Texas.

Other sources said, however, that possible successors included Robert M. Gates, who is acting CIA director in Mr. Casey's absence, and Brent Scowcroft, who served as national security adviser to President Gerald R. Ford.



William J. Casey

U.S. Rebuffed, Iranian Says

New York Times Service

TEHRAN — The Foreign Ministry has rebuffed a final effort by the Reagan administration to maintain contacts with his government, according to Iran's president.

Speaking at the Friday prayers at Tehran University, the president, Ali Khamenei, appeared to describe an initiative undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency in December, several weeks after the administration first said it had conducted a secret arms trade with Iran.

Apparently referring to a time after the administration's Iran initiative had collapsed, Mr. Khamenei said, according to an unofficial translation: "The Americans still tried to pursue their plans through the Foreign Ministry, but our brothers at the Foreign Ministry encountered the them with the same Islamic stand as they had encountered the first time, and they demonstrated the steadfastness of the Iranian people to them."

Princeton President Resigns

United Press International

PRINCETON, New Jersey — William G. Bowen, the president of Princeton University since 1972, has resigned. He said Saturday that he would head the New-York based Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Mr. Bowen declined to answer questions, citing his Fifth Amendment privilege against possible self-incrimination.

Mr. Bowen has not disclosed the contents of his Nov. 22 conversation with Colonel North other than to announce later that Colonel

North was aware that money from the arms sales had been diverted to the rebels.

A new report, which was being edited last weekend, has been drafted by the staff of the intelligence committee, which Democrats now control. The draft is expected to be circulated to committee members for their review this week.

It will contain more information about Mr. Reagan's role in the Iran initiative than the draft put together by the committee while under Republican control. That document "left out an awful lot of detail about Reagan," according to sources, and was never released.

The revised staff report will also contain information about Vice

Hostages Were Reagan's Main Concern, North Said

By Walter Pincus
and Bill Peterson
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North said in November that President Ronald Reagan's primary interest in approving an initiative to Iran that included secret arms sales was freeing U.S. hostages in Lebanon, according to notes held by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Colonel North said that whenever he or Robert C. McFarlane, a former foreign national security adviser, tried to talk to Mr. Reagan about the geopolitical aspects of the arms sales, such as the broader goal of reaching moderates in the Iranian government, "the president would steer the conversation to the hostages," a source familiar with the extensive notes said Saturday.

Colonel North's comments were made during a Nov. 22 interview with Attorney General Edwin Meese III, from which the notes were made.

"I would say we have to view this in a geopolitical context and the president would keep coming back to the hostages," the source quoted Colonel North as saying to Mr. Meese.

"No matter what we did," the former National Security Council aide was quoted as saying, "Mr. Reagan 'wanted to talk about the hostages.'

The Senate committee staff has obtained other evidence, including notes from NSC meetings, that support the conclusion that Mr. Reagan's advisers "were thinking in larger terms, but Reagan wasn't," this source said.

Mr. Reagan's preoccupation with the hostages has been frequently cited since the clandestine arms sales to Iran became public.

Mr. Meese's account to the Senate panel of what Colonel North told him of Mr. Reagan's motivation appears at odds with Mr. Reagan's public statements on the issue. Mr. Reagan has repeatedly said he did not authorize an exchange of arms for hostages and that the major purpose of the initiative to Iran was geopolitical.

Colonel North made his statements to Mr. Meese as part of the attorney general's initial inquiry into the Iran affair, the weekend before Mr. Meese announced that money from the arms sales to Iran had been diverted to the Nicaraguan rebels, among others.

But Professor Monroe H. Freedman of Hofstra University says: "The lawyers who are making these trips are earning their living, just the way reporters earn their living by going to accident scenes, and doctors and medical technicians earn their living by going to accident scenes. The question is whether they are serving a positive social function, and it is clear to me that they are."

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The revised staff report will also contain information about Vice

President George Bush that had been left out of the earlier version primarily because it was "embarrassing," a source said.

Mr. Bush, who had chaired a cabinet-level task force on terrorism and has sometimes portrayed himself as an expert on the subject, was aware of the arms sales but was "not a player," according to a source who has reviewed the committee's records.

When Senate investigators interviewed participants in meetings where Iran arms decisions were made, a source said, they were repeatedly told that Mr. Bush was not present at those meetings even though he holds a seat on the NSC

and acts as a spokesman on terrorism policy.

The new report shows, a source said, "how totally irrelevant Bush has been to the whole affair. He was never there."

Immunity Is Opposed

Lawrence E. Walsh, the court-appointed independent counsel investigating the Iran-contra affair, has urged congressional investigators not to grant immunity from prosecution to any witnesses until his work is finished, The Washington Post reported.

In a letter to Representative Lee H. Hamilton, Democrat of Indiana and chairman of the House select committee looking into the contro

versy, Mr. Walsh warned that immunity granted at this stage would "create serious and perhaps insurmountable barriers to the prosecution of the witnesses."

Mr. Reagan, supported by a number of House and Senate Republicans, has proposed that limited immunity be granted to primary figures such as Colonel North and the former national security adviser, John M. Poindexter, who was Colonel North's supervisor and who also invoked his Fifth Amendment privilege.

Mr. Reagan's stated interest in seeing immunity granted is to get the facts out and the affair behind him as quickly as possible. Mr. Walsh's purpose, on the other

hand, is to determine whether crimes have been committed and, if so, to prosecute the perpetrators.

Under the law, Mr. Walsh is powerless to stop the committees from compelling testimony under a grant of immunity. But once such immunity has been granted, successful prosecution can be mounted only if the government can show that its evidence was gathered independent of the immunized testimony and of any leads derived from that testimony.

"The government's burden of proving the independent nature of its evidence is so great that successful prosecution usually would be extremely difficult," Mr. Walsh said in the letter.

AMERICAN TOPICS

Lawyers Criticized For Chasing Disasters

The legal profession is once again being accused of predatory conduct in rushing to disaster scenes — the Bhopal gas leak disaster of 1984, the Puerto Rico hotel fire on New Year's Eve, the Maryland train crash Jan. 4, The Washington Post reports.

Luis Davila Colon, the head of the Puerto Rican Bar Association, likened some mainland lawyers to "vultures who come to look for clients."

Lawyers have been called ambulance-chasers for as long as there have been lawyers and ambulances. But complaints have grown louder. Experts say this is because the practice of law has become more competitive, damage awards have reached astronomical heights, and the Supreme Court has expanded lawyers' right to advertise.

There are more lawyers doing personal injury work than ever before," says David Auster of the Association of Trial Lawyers of America. "The competition is very, very fierce."

But Professor Monroe H. Freedman of Hofstra University says: "The lawyers who are making these trips are earning their living, just the way reporters earn their living by going to accident scenes, and doctors and medical technicians earn their living by going to accident scenes. The question is whether they are serving a positive social function, and it is clear to me that they are."

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But Professor Monroe H.

OPINION

Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

State of the President

What is new is not the state of the Union but the state of the president. Starting suddenly, on successive days last November, the Reagan administration changed. Six years of geman invincibility have faded fast, and that is why the president's report to Congress on Tuesday ranks in importance with his first one. It will show whether Ronald Reagan, whose resilience has been so often underestimated, can bounce back once again. The chances are strong that he cannot, at least not all the way.

Last Nov. 3 brought one reason: the first disclosure of the Iran-contra scandal. Then Nov. 4 inflicted a different wound: loss of the Senate to the Democrats. There are other reasons, too. At time passes, loyal aides trail away, leaving third-stringers in their place. For all Mr. Reagan's vigor, age and hospitalizations cannot help eventually affecting acuity. Still, that his administration is weaker does not mean it is helpless or inert. Freedom is a good horse, Mathew Arnold wrote, but a horse to ride somewhere. The measure of the president's strength is where he wants to ride.

There is no end of important goals, like a credible anti-terror policy, a constant policy on drugs, insuring against catastrophic medical expenses. This speech will lay out the agenda for the rest of the Reagan presidency. If he means to be taken seriously, five subjects loom largest.

Peace. The first priority is arms control. At Reykjavik, negotiations progress was delayed into a train wreck of confusion. Still, this remains a rare moment. The Soviet leader seems eager to deal. The window of vulnerability now looks like a window of opportunity, if only the president will see the opening. Likewise, there is no way to tell if negotiation is possible in Central America without giving it a serious try.

Fiscal fidelity. The national debt now tops \$2 trillion, double the pre-Reagan total. How much is a trillion? Just counting to a trillion, one number per second, would take 32,000 years. The president cannot raise defense spending, cut the deficit and forbid new taxes any more this year than he could in 1981. The besetting error all along has been to believe him when he says he hates deficits. If he did, a president with such popularity and power would, over six years, have done something about it.

This deficit is no despised orphan. It is President Reagan's child, and secretly he loves it, as David Stockman has explained: The deficit rigorously discourages any idea of spending another dime for social welfare. But that tower of debt, along with its twin tower, the trade deficit, now cast ever darker shadows. To dare Congress to raise revenues is not leadership; it is playing chicken with our children's money.

Protecting against protectionism. The steel worker who has lost his job because of imports grasps for the most obvious remedy: ban imports. What he cannot be expected to remember is that trade barriers cost more jobs and more dollars than they save. Protectionists can be as powerful as they are mistaken, however, and Mr. Reagan will be judged by how imaginatively and stubbornly he protects against them.

The family. A Republican named Eisenhower championed disability insurance, and a Republican named Nixon championed food stamps. If President Reagan is serious about welfare and family policy, he could now champion the cause of poor children — whose numbers have risen in his presidency from 11.5 million to 12.5 million. Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, a New York Democrat, calculates that the poverty rate among young children is seven times that among the elderly. Reaganites are the first to proclaim that the system of Aid to Families with Dependent Children does not work. But beyond denouncing "welfare queens," all the administration offers is a recent interagency committee report calling on the federal government to do less.

Race. In this time of rising turbulence, constructive signals are needed as urgently as constructive programs. Consider the signals Mr. Reagan has sent, from a black point of view, ever since he began his 1980 campaign — in Philadelphia, Mississippi, notorious for three Klan killings in 1964. His administration has argued that segregated academies are entitled to tax exemptions. It bitterly resists affirmative action.

The president has yet to meet with the congressional black caucus.

By his choices on Tuesday, President Reagan will show whether he is tired, merely batten down to protect past achievements, or whether he still wants to ride somewhere. By his speech he will tell how he means to be remembered: as a partisan who succeeded as president of the right, or as president of all the people.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Stand Up to Terrorism

With the kidnapping of two German hostages in Beirut, West Germany's handling of the Hamadei case has gone into slow gear. One immediate reason has been the national election; reasonably enough, the government wanted to avoid anything that might have a last-minute impact on the voting. Beyond that, the legal situation is not simple. Mohammed Ali Hamadei was arrested at Frankfurt airport carrying explosives. The United States has charged that he is one of the two terrorists who hijacked a TWA airliner in June 1985 and murdered an American passenger, a young navy diver. The Germans will have to decide where he is to be tried first, for what, and whether to extradite him.

But over all the legal technicalities hangs a familiar and tormenting political question. Will the government proceed with the prosecution or extradition of the suspect, when his friends in Beirut threaten to retaliate by murdering a hostage? Or will it begin reluctantly to consider trading a man accused of murder for the hostages?

In principle it is absolutely clear that a government can never afford to cave in to that kind of threat. The supply of hostages is endless in a world where people travel widely, and to give in merely makes certain types of crime unpunishable and laws

against terrorist violence unenforceable. But governments, swayed by pleas from hostages' families and friends, and fearing blame for another death in Beirut, sometimes find it expedient to waffle and surrender. The Germans are justified in observing that the Reagan administration, in the Iran fiasco, has set the world no very inspiring example of courage and rigor in dealing with terrorists who hold hostages.

A better example was established by Bonn itself in the 1970s. A decade ago the Social Democratic government under Helmut Schmidt sent West German commandos to recapture a Lufthansa airliner that terrorists had seized and landed in Somalia. That government also refused to negotiate with the West German terrorist organization that kidnapped and subsequently killed a prominent industrialist. While terrorism has not entirely disappeared in Germany, Mr. Schmidt's decision in that case was crucial in breaking the momentum of the violent political movement that had sprung up there. Helmut Kohl now has an opportunity to do as much — not for the United States, but for Germans like the Beirut hostages who travel abroad and are entitled to do it free of fear of capture by terrorists who need pawns to trade.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Defense Centers Hold

In two very different and important nations, there is a discernible shift away from the long-held belief that voters are allergic to any increase in conventional defense spending. On Friday Japan agreed to end a decade-old policy of keeping military expenditures below 1 percent of gross national product. And in Britain the opposition Labor Party finds it expedient to proclaim the need to strengthen NATO's conventional forces. This is a welcome shift, although the new Laborite gift horse comes with a mouthful of old teeth.

Japan's distaste for military spending goes back to defeat in World War II, to a resulting constitution that restricts spending to "self-defense forces" and to a resurgence of pacifism during the Vietnam War. In 1976 Japan decided "for the time being to limit military spending to 1 percent of annual output in goods and services. The distress in Washington that followed was ameliorated by creative juggling of accounts that enabled Japan to claim compliance while contributing a bit more.

As a practical matter, the United States has reason to cheer the end of the 1 percent dogma, especially since the 1987 allocation of \$23 billion — which is 1.004 percent of projected GNP — includes cost-sharing provisions for American forces stationed in Japan. Washington rightly pushed for

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Better Some Than None?

In the debate on the Strategic Defense Initiative we often hear it asked whether the SDI can be 100 percent effective, as if that were the only important point. What if the Soviet Union or the United States attained 50 percent effectiveness in an SDI system? Would that be tantamount to a 50 percent reduction of the adversary's nuclear delivery capability?

Suppose both superpowers had SDI capabilities of less than 100 percent. Would that make an improvement of SDI capability more attractive to each than an increase of its nuclear strike ability? Would spending on more nuclear bombs be com-

sidered uneconomical if the adversary could eliminate their advantage by improving its SDI defense?

The possibility of an SDI system that is less than 100 percent effective, at least in a transition period, must be considered. It is understandable that a country that has spent great amounts on nuclear armament may be reluctant to see its arsenal made useless by the adversary's SDI system. Whether to bargain the relative security of an SDI system for the promise of nuclear disarmament, which is not necessarily easy to verify, is a question that each nation must be allowed to decide for itself.

NILS ALL BARRICELLI

Ohio



Angola: 'Mutual Interests' With the United States

CABINDA, Angola — Deputy

Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura felt the urge to address the men having lunch in the mess hall. He introduced Representative Mickey Leland, a Democrat from Houston. He said he wanted to explain why "Americans should be welcomed as friends although Angola has no diplomatic relations with the U.S. and Washington is helping the armed bandits." That was reference to Jonas Savimbi's South African-supported UNITA rebels.

Still, it was unlikely that anybody there wondered about the American visitors. The hall is part of the huge Cabinda Gulf Oil camp, Angola's major petroleum producer and thus its major export earner. Cabinda is an enclave, cut off from the rest of Angola by a sliver of Zaire. Within it, the camp is almost completely isolated. It could be a self-contained island. Of the 1,500 people who work there, a little over a third are foreigners who seldom set foot elsewhere in Africa except to catch a plane home. The Americans spend 28 days on the job and then have 28 days to commute to Texas, Oklahoma or wherever home is. The routine for oilmen abroad.

The Angolans may live nearby in Cabinda, or in the capital down

south. But they, too, are part of the closed oil society, learning from the foreign experts with the prospect of eventually moving up to managerial responsibilities. The profits and expenses are split 51 percent for Angola, 49 percent for Chevron, the parent company, and it has been highly satisfactory for both through revolution and East-West hostility.

The real anomaly is not even noticeable at the camp and is seldom mentioned. Cuban troops aiding Marxist Angola, some 30,000 in the huge country altogether, protect the enclave. In May 1983 a South African commando unit landed with the aim of blowing up oil storage tanks. They carried UNITA propaganda leaflets to leave behind, so that it would appear that Mr. Savimbi's men had carried out the raid. But they were detected and the plot was exposed.

Wayne Johansen, who manages the camp, said he worried more about security when he went through European airports on his monthly commute to Houston than he did in Cabinda. Company policy, which he does his best to observe, is to keep munitions on politics. But it is obviously a strain for Chevron.

The endless Angolan civil war is at a stalemate prolonged by outsiders.

As long as the Soviet Union and Cuba maintain their commitment to the government, UNITA cannot impose itself. Its main base is the Ovimbundu tribe in the southeast and it has little appeal to others, although it can stage incursions and disrupt the economy in much of the country. As long as South Africa stands behind UNITA, the government cannot clear out the rebels and get on with development of this underpopulated

(eight million) and potentially very rich country twice the size of France.

Nine-tenths of the country is considered unsecured. The main victims of the war are civilians, who suffer directly and indirectly through hunger, lack of jobs and economic near paralysis. Unlike Mozambique, the other big former Portuguese colony in southern Africa, Angola has not moved much from its pro-Soviet position and Marxist orthodoxy is the direction of pragmatic reforms.

Still, it is evident that it would like to have relations with the United States and Western investments beyond the oil fields. The Cubans have become a chicken-and-egg proposition, with Angola saying that they will be sent home when security permits and the United States insisting on their departure as a first step.

So Mr. de Moura's speech to the oil workers about "friendship with the American people" and "mutual interests" with the United States was really an appeal. The appeal should be headed, not just for the sake of oil and trade but because the war will not settle the U.S.-Soviet rivalry that rages above people's heads here. Peace, which the nation desperately needs, would make it easier.

The New York Times

The Good News From the East Looks Exaggerated

By Charles Krauthammer

WASHINGTON — There is a great, mostly unspoken hope in the air, blowing in from the east, bearing news from the Soviet Union and China. The hope against hope is that we have been wrong about totalitarianism.

Perhaps, like all other forms of tyranny, it is mortal. Perhaps after all it may be reversible.

In Russia, *glasnost* — openness — is the word. In China, students have taken to the streets demanding democracy and have not been met with glassnost. The supreme leader, Deng Xiaoping, ordered the demonstrations halted. His Directive No. 1, a classic of velvet glove repression, reads: "We can afford to shed some blood. Just try as much as possible not to kill anyone." China is in the grip of a crackdown. While Soviet intellectuals are encouraged to speak, Chinese intellectuals are warned to hold their tongues. And yet the only real hope lies in China.

The reason is to be found in something said by one of the three purged Chinese intellectuals, Fang Lizhi, a hero of the democracy movement who was fired from his university post: "Democracy granted from above is not democracy in a real sense. It is relaxation of control."

Mikhail Gorbachev's is a revolution from above. He offers to relax control in order to revive a moribund economy, a sclerotic society and a demoralized intelligentsia. His goal, the best that can come of his efforts, is efficiency: a more agreeable repression, under which workers and intellectuals will improve their production.

China's is a revolution from below, a brushfire

that is desperately trying to put down. To be sure, the revolution originated from above with economic reforms now almost a decade old. But these have taken root in society and threaten to outgrow party control. First farmers are allowed to sell to market. Then factory managers are given control of their enterprises. Now students demand democracy.

Marx was right. It really is change from below — in material conditions, economics, social structure — that ultimately creates revolution. Mr. Deng started by introducing a hint of capitalism. With Western-style economic liberty, thanks to Mr. Deng, China has incubated a democratic-capitalist revolution, 200 years late.

The reversals are again dizzying. Last spring Mr. Hu said "Let a hundred flowers bloom" — again. Now another flower harvest, Mr. Hu is cut down. Fang, Wang and gang are purged. The most chilling repressive device of all, confession, is back in operation. The People's Daily set the tone by criticizing itself for an article last year calling for more democracy. Reports come from the provinces of self-criticism by professors and teachers. The tale of woe begins again.

Yet the turmoil itself is reason for some hope. Mr. Gorbachev has his revolution firmly, depressingly in control. He lights the fires. In China the students lit the fuse, and so many are burning that the party had to call out the fire brigade. Can it extinguish every spark? I doubt that it will live to see the first anti-totalitarian transformation, but I am cheered by the thought that somewhere in China today there is a baby who might.

Washington Post Writers Group

Reagan: Asking for Some More Contra Trouble

By Philip Geyelin

WASHINGTON — Skeptics view it that the cause of the Nicaraguan contras will be front and center among President Reagan's concerns in his State of the Union address tomorrow. For the president, dismantling the "second Cuba" is more than a goal; according to close associates, it is an obsession.

Very well, if what the president wants is a crunching collision and a raucous rerun of last year's debate.

With little new evidence to show that the contras can accomplish their fuzzy mission of pressuring the Sandinist government to "negotiate" democracy for Nicaragua, chances to economic aid to shore up Nicaragua's neighboring democracies. But obsession does not lend itself to accommodation.

No sooner had the profit-skimming story broken than supporters of contra aid rushed to deny any connection. That U.S. operatives under — or out of — administration control not only diverted Iran arms profits to

the contras but also secretly promoted support for the contras from Brunei and other U.S. clients around the world after U.S. military aid is dismissed as irrelevant. "That period is over," says Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs. "Now the U.S. government is funding the contras."

That is what Mr. Abrams thinks. Some of his congressional adversaries think otherwise. They argue that the contra aid scandals are entirely relevant: an inevitable consequence of a deliberate, covert administration effort to make war without congressional consent. "The administration has been playing with the constitutional war-making process," says one.

The opposition in the House is already mobilizing. The strategy is still up in the air, but last week leaders of the opposition were testing options, counting noses and finding growing support for forging an explicit connection between the scandals and continuation of U.S. aid.

They would do this by imposing a "moratorium" until congressional investigators explain asserted mysteries about what happened — not only to the profits from the Iran arms sales but to the Brunei contribution and congressional grants of humanitarian aid. They want to know how much money the contras received, before they take up the administration's budget request for \$105 million more.

A first test of the strength of the opposition will come early next month when the president must submit a "progress report" before releasing the remaining balance (\$40 million) from the \$100 million approved last year. Congress, after studying the

report, will have until Feb. 15 to vote for further disbursements.

The "moratorium" approach could still delay any action on next year's budget request until October, when the investigation committees are due to submit their findings. And the findings, in turn, could be sufficiently scandalous to make a shambles of any coherent approach to dealing with the menace that the administration sees in Managua.

It is a troublesome way to deal with an important matter of national security, but an administration insensitive enough to act as if nothing out of the way has happened to its Nicaragua policy is asking for trouble.

INSIGHTS

Arms Dealer to Iran Reports Israeli-Saudi Role

By Joseph Fitchett
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — U.S. arms deliveries to Iran involved indirect cooperation between Saudi Arabia and Israel, according to an intermediary in the sales, Jacob Nimrodi.

Mr. Nimrodi, an Israeli arms dealer and former intelligence agent, said that leaders in both countries believed that the operation offered an opportunity to bring Iran closer to the West.

Mr. Nimrodi said that he and his partner, Al Schwimmer, founder of Israeli Aircraft Industries, worked with Adnan M. Khashoggi, a Saudi businessman with close ties to the royal family of Saudi Arabia. "We had the impression that Mr. Khashoggi was acting with the direct knowledge and approval of Fahd," he said, referring to King Fahd of Saudi Arabia.

Mr. Nimrodi's version of events, provided in a recent interview, describes covert Middle Eastern efforts aimed at containing extremist Moslem fundamentalism in Iran. Challenging the view that moderate Arab leaders were alarmed to learn about U.S. deals with Iran, Mr. Nimrodi said that Saudi Arabia, for example, had been negotiating with Iranian factions since the early 1980s.

His remarks appeared designed to deflect rising public criticism of the role of arms dealers in the formulation of U.S. policy. His account was confirmed in substance, although not in detail, by other participants.

Mr. Nimrodi contended that Middle Eastern diplomacy is often handled by arms dealers because leaders in the region hesitate to trust their intelligence services with such unorthodox contacts.

U.S. contacts with Iran that were brokered by arms dealers, Mr. Nimrodi contended, produced results until the contacts were pre-empted by U.S. officials. The officials, he said, bungled it through impatience over delays in freeing U.S. hostages and intransigence in dealing with Iranians.

Mr. Nimrodi's says his expertise is based on nearly 15 years in Tehran as an intelligence operative heading an Israeli military mission that trained the shah's forces and sold weapons.

After retiring in 1974, he returned to Tehran as a businessman where he amassed a fortune, often as an agent of the shah's relatives.

His activities established him in an informal international group of arms tycoons, including Mr. Khashoggi, with secret channels to political leaders. Mr. Khashoggi generally is considered the most important figure in the business.

Mr. Nimrodi contends that he and Mr. Khashoggi share a capacity for international intrigue and a visionary enthusiasm for a peaceful Middle East that benefits from what he called "Jewish brains and Arab wealth."

Challenging the media image of Mr. Khashoggi as simply a playboy who amasses fortunes in extravagant and questionable commissions, Mr. Nimrodi said: "This man has done amazing things to try for peace, to help Saudi Arabia, to help the Arabs and the Palestinians, and even, yes, to help Israel." Israel and Saudi Arabia, which have no diplomatic relations, have never officially ended their state of war.

Mr. Khashoggi, Mr. Nimrodi said, had been the go-between for many secret negotiations for Arab leaders. "Khashoggi is still taking great



Jacob Nimrodi

risks of his life and for things that he didn't have to do for money," he said.

Mr. Khashoggi, he said, had organized numerous meetings between Israeli and Arab leaders, including prominent Palestinians; obtained help from Saudi's leader at the time, Gafar Nimeiri, in bringing black Jews out of Ethiopia; and conveyed an offer from Fahd for \$100 million in aid for regional development if Israel would allow the Saudi flag to fly over the old Jerusalem. More recently, Mr. Khashoggi offered a \$50 million investment if Israel would compromise with Egypt over the Taba enclave on the Sinai.

A spokesman for Mr. Khashoggi would only say that he and Mr. Nimrodi had attended meetings with Iranians and U.S. officials. He declined to characterize Mr. Khashoggi's relations with Fahd.

According to Mr. Nimrodi, Mr. Khashoggi became involved with Saudi policy toward Iran in early 1980, shortly after Moslem extremists took over the Grand Mosque in Mecca, Islam's holiest shrine.

Mr. Khashoggi put Saudi officials in touch with an Iranian informant, Manucher Ghorbanifar, an Iranian businessman with links to SAVAK, the shah's internal security service, who had become a government-based adviser to Iran's revolutionary government.

He reportedly provided information about plans for terrorism by the new Iranian regime that enabled the Saudi Arabians to take countermeasures. "His warnings were coupled with demands for arms from his Iranian sources, and the Saudis thought of him not as a spy but as an emissary of 'moderate' Iranians," Mr. Nimrodi said.

"I don't know what people mean by 'moderates'; these are people ready to do anything — they have their own vision — but I guess the word will do as well as any," Mr. Nimrodi said, adding: "What they are, is pro-Western."

In early 1985, Mr. Ghorbanifar told the Saudis that these Iranian factions felt that they urgently needed direct contacts with the United States to help in what he called a power struggle with leftist, pro-Soviet factions.

Mr. Nimrodi denies making a profit on the transaction.

At about the same time, Shimon Peres, then prime minister of Israel, was visited by Michael Ledeen, a consultant working for the U.S. National Security Council. Could Israel, he reportedly asked, help the United States cope more effectively with Iran?

Mr. Nimrodi said that Mr. Ledeen specifically wanted help in freeing William Buckley, CIA station chief in Beirut who was taken hostage in March of that year. Mr. Ledeen says that "the subject of hostage did not come up, but he acknowledges that his session with Mr. Peres led to U.S.-Iranian meetings brokered by Mr. Nimrodi and Mr. Khashoggi.

According to Mr. Nimrodi, Mr. Peres told Mr. Nimrodi, his partner, Mr. Schwimmer, and David Kimche, a former deputy head of Mossad, Israel's intelligence service, and former director-general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, to "handle this for Israel's interests and pick up any money to be made."

Mr. Peres has disputed that Mr. Nimrodi and his friends were "assigned" a mission, and he subsequently put his own side in charge of liaison with the United States of Iran. But Mr. Nimrodi maintains that "people like Mr. Schwimmer and Mr. Kimche, they do not just happen to get involved in things except where Israel's interest is involved."

The Israeli group then met with Iranian emissaries, who were accompanied by Mr. Ghorbanifar and Mr. Khashoggi. Mr. Nimrodi, reading from what he said were minutes of their discussions, quoted the Iranians as saying: "We know that leftists are waiting to emerge" when Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Iran's leader, dies. "Help us unite — we will take dramatic steps to show you we are serious," he quoted the Iranians as saying.

During these initial discussions, the Iranians mistook the Israelis for U.S. officials, Mr. Nimrodi said. Mr. Ledeen took part in subsequent talks, which led to the first arms delivery in September 1985, involving TOW anti-tank missiles from Israeli stocks, and the release of one U.S. hostage.

Mr. Nimrodi denies making a profit on the transaction.

General News

Soviet Livestock Expert Gets Exit Visa for U.S.

Industry Secrets Cited in 12-Year Delay

By Marvin Howe
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Lev Bittstein, the man who was said to know too much about meat storage in the Soviet Union, has learned that he can leave to join his family in the United States.

"Finally we have lived until the moment I am being let go," Mr. Bittstein said Friday in a call from Moscow to his son, Boris, in Manasquan, New Jersey.

The 56-year-old former employee of the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry will soon see his three grandchildren for the first time and be reunited with his wife, who divorced him in 1975 to be eligible to emigrate.

During the last 12 years, Mr. Bittstein, a Jew, has been refused permission to leave on the ground that he knew secrets about the Soviet meat industry.

Emigration from the Soviet Union in general is restricted, but Jews have been permitted to leave in large numbers over the years on

grounds of family reunification. Some requests have been rejected in cases where the authorities contend that the applicant was privy to secret information in government employment.

The visa office informed Mr. Bittstein that his request had been approved just a few days before he was due to start a hunger strike. He told his son that he and his 80-year-old mother planned to leave in a few weeks.

An authority on livestock breeding and meat processing, Mr. Bittstein first applied with his family to emigrate in August 1974, but his application was rejected.

After Mr. Bittstein protested the decision in letters to Soviet officials, he lost his job, his telephone was disconnected and his apartment was bugged, his son said.

Soviet Free Patient

A Soviet airline navigator who was forcibly committed to a psychiatric hospital after applying to emi-



Alexei Semyonov, left, reunited with his stepfather, Andrei D. Sakharov, in Moscow.

grate was discharged Saturday after an appeal from Andrei D. Sakharov, the dissident physicist, according to the navigator's daughter, Tatyana Yevseyukova, who said her father, 54, had been forcibly committed since July in a psychiatric clinic outside Moscow, where she said he received more than 110 injections of tranquilizers.

Bonner's Son in Moscow

Alexei Semyonov, the stepson of Mr. Sakharov and the son of Yelena G. Bonner, returned to Moscow on Saturday nearly nine years after emigrating to the United States, The Associated Press reported from Moscow.

Mr. Semyonov, who brought a home computer for his stepfather, was accompanying a group of U.S.

college administrators on a three-day human rights visit to Moscow.

Mr. Sakharov, the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, embraced his stepson at the airport after more than an hour's wait while the visitors checked through customs.

Mr. Bonner did not go to the airport because "she doesn't feel very well," Mr. Sakharov said. "Her health is not good."

U.S. Imposes Mini-Fine For Arizona Speeding

By Reginald Stuart
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Department of Transportation said that data supplied by Arizona indicated that 36.3 percent of the vehicles monitored in the state in 1984 were traveling faster than 55 miles per hour. The level rose to 56.4 percent in 1985. The agency said it was initiating withholdings of proceeds against the state in conjunction with 1985 violations.

The department's actions had been delayed since the middle of last year because of legislative efforts to allow states to increase the speed limit to 65 miles per hour along rural stretches of interstate highways.

Clarence Dilow, executive director of the Center for Auto Safety,

said that although "any sanction will have an impact" on states regarding the need to enforce highway speed limits, "the stronger the sanction, the greater the impact."

"It's obvious," he said, "that what the Department of Transportation is doing is trying to pursue minimal compliance."

The department's actions had been delayed since the middle of last year because of legislative efforts to allow states to increase the speed limit to 65 miles per hour along rural stretches of interstate highways.

The penalty cannot be appealed.

When the Argentine armed forces seized power in 1976, the military government launched an offensive against the left in which 6,000 to 15,000 people are estimated to have "disappeared."

In 1983, after Argentina's loss of the Falkland Islands war and amid pressure for an accounting of those who had disappeared, the military allowed elections and handed over power to a civilian government that

was committed to reducing the power of the military and holding an inquiry into human-rights abuses.

Mr. Homenick said Argentina had indicated that it would seek to have the former general extradited based on his indictment in November 1984 in Buenos Aires on one count of unlawful detention and torture and his indictment in July 1986 on charges of unlawful detention, theft and torture resulting in death. The penalty cannot be appealed.

"We don't like it, but we understand it," he said. "When a person experiences brutality they want to retaliate. They feel they must kill in

order to satisfy their bitterness."

On Warsaw's Food Lines, Boorishness in Long Supply

On Warsaw's Food Lines, Boorishness in Long Supply

By Thomas Netter
International Herald Tribune

WARSAW — Five years ago, just before the declaration of martial law mortally wounded the Solidarity union and stilled the brief flash of freedom of expression it conferred, a friend asked why journalists always wrote sterile stories about politics, strikes and economics but seldom paid attention to why mothers found it difficult or impossible to get milk for their children.

That question has haunted me ever since.

It came to mind again during a recent visit to Poland in a story told by another friend who was trying to get milk for her children after the radiation leak at the Soviet nuclear plant at Chernobyl.

The woman, who has two children, told how she waited in line to get packages of powdered milk after fresh milk was banned.

When she finally reached the counter, the clerk refused to give her the milk because the necessary chit on her ration card had already been clipped. Her protest that it was removed by mistake were to no avail. Unable to purchase the powdered milk, and bitterly frustrated, she first begged the shop assistant, then burst into tears.

In the West, one hears of "defiant"

Polands, united under a creed of opposition to the government and that Poles are "free" than their neighbors in Eastern Europe. Within Poland, it is another story. Yes, the dissidents continue their planning and clandestine meetings, and the underground publishers produce leaflets, newspapers and books. But everyday life is still hard.

People who know the Poles intimately know them to be, by and large, a friendly, hospitable people. But that clerk's indifference is a sad and telling example of what one Polish friend calls a "so-called boorishness" that has set in, repeating itself more and more in public life.

Deprived of a voice in the running of society or their daily lives, many Poles have moved inward — behind the doors of their apartments, behind a wall of frustration, anger and despair or, like the shop clerk, behind a veneer of indifference.

"Your problem is not my problem, so leave us alone," is a prevailing attitude of many people.

What one Polish friend calls a "lack of collective consciousness, or the ability to take collective action" is clearly apparent. Despite the relative improvement in the shops on the eve of martial law five years ago there was virtually nothing available — I found a heavy sense of futility and even depression in the post-holiday Warsaw gloom.

Prices have skyrocketed, inflation is at 30 percent, and salaries have failed to keep pace. Poles still somehow find enough money, enough food and enough household goods to get by. But it's difficult. Lives are everywhere, with their own, demoralizing dynamic.

In one instance, as a clerk wrapped a

purchase for me, the pressure in the line behind me began to build. An older woman began to lean on me, pushing without reason to get further ahead in the line, tightening up the gaps between us. There was a look on her face of impatience, irritation, almost as if I offended her by being first.

NEARBY, line after line of customers shuffled to buy basic goods: cheese, bread, meat, milk, eggs, vodka, vegetables. A shop assistant at the head of each line dressed in a white smock, her eyes dulled by the monotony of her task, demurred in a shrill voice. "Who's next?"

On to the next line, the next shop assistant. This is the reality beyond the memorials,

the dramatic public events, the legal or illegal gatherings to commemorate the innumerable anniversaries of victories and defeats, triumphs and tragedies that define Poland's history.

If the shops are selling goods, why are there the lines, the interminable waits, the indifferent, often rude clerks? Aren't things supposed to be better after five years of "normalization"?

In basic terms, they are, but in human terms there are not. Life in Poland today is a time-consuming, debilitating exercise in pushing one's way through a system more suited to the 19th century. It is worsened by bitter memories of the "war," as the Poles call the state of emergency imposed on Dec. 13, 1981, and the consistent re-entrenchment of state authority in all organizations since then.

Talk abounds of another period of demands for reform, as prices rise and the workers' ability to buy declines. One evening in central Warsaw, I joined a crowd of people looking in vain for a streetcar. As one streetcar after the other passed, each off-duty or the wrong number, the crowd moved, from one stop to another, growing in size with each move, murmuring louder with each passing vehicle.

It was an absurd scene that would seem familiar on the cold, frozen squalor of Warsaw. Somehow, that shuffling crowd of unhappy people, murmuring to themselves and desperately seeking a way home, was all too real.

Last week, he discussed the situation in South Africa with Henry A. Kissinger, the former secretary of state.

He also conferred with a group of executives from many of the largest U.S. corporations to discuss their dealings in South Africa. He told them they should not try to encourage Pretoria to change its policies, but that instead those companies that had not already shut down their operations inside South Africa should do so immediately.

The State Department has stressed that the meeting does not represent approval of the group, but rather a recognition that it is an important player in events in South Africa. The visit with Mr. Shultz will be the highest-level meeting between an ANC representative and the U.S. government.

On previous visits to the United States, Mr. Tambo has generally been inconspicuous. But on this trip he has the schedule of one who is suddenly an object of political curiosity.

"Because we are getting arms from them for free does not mean we are mortgaging ourselves," he said. "And I dominate the ANC. Yes, I dominate. I am not dominated and controlled."

Aram A. Avakian Dies; Film Editor, Director

New York Times Service

Station Chief Suspended By CIA for Contra Link

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The Central Intelligence Agency has suspended its station chief in Costa Rica after learning that he failed to fully disclose his participation in a secret network that flew military supplies to Nicaraguan rebels, U.S. intelligence sources said.

The suspension of the station chief, who used the pseudonym Tomás Castillo, followed his recall earlier this month. It also followed two internal CIA investigations that cleared him of illegal actions in connection with U.S. shipments of military aid to the rebels, known as contras, in violation of a congressional ban on such aid.

The source, who requested anonymity, said Saturday that Mr. Castillo was suspended within the past few days after CIA officials were notified that documents belonging to Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North, the former National Security Council aide, showed that Mr. Castillo was more deeply involved in the contra supply network than he had admitted. The CIA apparently was notified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Reagan administration, meanwhile, signaled its resolve to aid the contras with Frank C. Carlucci, the new national security adviser, endorsing the policy at a conference on Central America.

REGAN: Shultz Testimony

(Continued from Page 1)

mit meeting, said the leaders had reached agreement to "isolate those states that provide support for terrorism."

The leaders issued a statement vowing further "international cooperation" to fight terrorism.

After questioning Mr. Regan in Tokyo, Mr. Shultz received a response from Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter, who was then national security adviser, that there was only a "smidgen of truth" to the information from Mr. Price in London, officials said.

Mr. Poindexter provided this answer in early May, just days before a meeting in London of U.S., Israeli and Iranian officials that led to President Reagan's decision on May 15 to authorize a secret mission to Tehran by a former national security adviser, Robert C. McFarlane.

Mr. McFarlane made the trip later that month, carrying a shipment of spare parts for anti-aircraft missiles in a futile effort to free American hostages held by Iran.

In his first public statements since he was appointed early this month, Mr. Carlucci said that he had asked his staff for a review of the field situation, the strength of the Nicaraguan government forces and the prognosis for their conflict with the contras.

Mr. Carlucci acknowledged that allegations that proceeds from the sale of weapons to Iran had gone to the contras had probably made the continuation of U.S. aid to the rebels "more difficult." But he said U.S. policy had not changed.

"I strongly support the democratic forces in Central America," he said, adding that the issue was "close to the heart" of President Ronald Reagan.

Elliot Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, said at the forum that the United States "is opposed to fake negotiations, and that's the problem we've had with Contadora."

The Contadora peace process, named for the island where Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia began their efforts in 1983, "has tended to be led from the left," Mr. Abrams said.

Later, he said he was referring to Mexico and to Peru, one of the four so-called "support nations" that include Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.

(AP, WP)

Court Rejects Labor Law In France

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The Constitutional Council, the highest legislative court in France, has rejected an attempt by the government of Prime Minister Jacques Chirac to adopt labor regulations without the usual parliamentary debate.

The council's decision Friday

came after President François Mitterrand, a Socialist, refused to allow the neo-Gaullist government of Mr. Chirac to pass the law by administrative decree.

The law provides for more flexible working hours in French offices and factories. It allows women to work at night in positions currently forbidden to them and varies the length of the working week to meet seasonal needs.

After Mr. Mitterrand's refusal, the law was rewritten as an amendment to a series of social measures and put before Parliament in December.

The measures were voted through in a late-night session, but Socialist members in the National Assembly protested the procedure to the Constitutional Council, a nine-member body that rules on the constitutionality of laws. Its president, Robert Badinter, was justice minister in the Socialist government that was in power from May 1981 until last March.

The Socialists opposed the working-hours amendment as an encroachment on social progress achieved under their administration.

The conservative majority in Parliament has defended the measure as necessary to give French companies more flexibility and make them more competitive. It has said that the law will create new jobs and preserve endangered ones.

The measure can still be adopted, but only by a full parliamentary session. Parliament is not scheduled to meet until its spring session opens on April 2.

Police and Mourners Clash at Belfast Funeral

The Associated Press

BELFAST — Mourners clashed with the police Saturday before the funeral of two men killed last week in what the police say was part of a power struggle among guerrillas of the outlawed Irish National Liberation Army.

However, congressional investigators have learned that Mr. Regan participated in key meetings at which the Iran arms policy was discussed, including a Jan. 6, 1986, session at which Mr. Shultz was not present.

One policeman suffered head injuries and was hospitalized and that two men were arrested for disorderly conduct. The funerals were being held for John O'Reilly, 26, and Thomas Power, 34, who were shot to death while meeting in a hotel on Tuesday.

One of the counter-demonstrators

an-backed extremists in Lebanon. At the time Mr. Poindexter responded to Mr. Shultz, Mr. McFarlane had already been enlisted to make the secret mission.

After Mr. Poindexter's first reply that there was only a "smidgen of truth" to the report of arms sales to Iran, he sent a second message to Mr. Shultz that the operation had "stood down," or halted completely, officials said. Later, Mr. Shultz was given the same information by the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, William J. Casey.

Since the Iran arms sales became public, the White House chief of staff has said he supported the policy of seeking an opening to moderate factions in Iran, but he has also tried to distance himself from it by saying Admiral Poindexter was in charge of the details.

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On the march was headed by veterans of the civil rights movement, including Coretta Scott King, Mr. King's widow; Atlanta's mayor, Andrew Young; political activist Dick Gregory; and Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

On the front of the parade was Gary Hart, a 1988 Democratic presidential candidate. William Bradford Reynolds, the head of the civil rights division of the Justice Department, marched with federal law enforcement officials to ensure, he said, that "what started last week will be repeated without violence."

Governor Harris, who mobilized the state's police effort, maintained contact from Atlanta by direct telephone line, a spokesman said.

Among the marchers were several Forsyth County residents.

"We're not all idiots up here," said Sammy Wallace, 34, an electronics worker. "If this is what it takes to make America free, then that's what it's going to be. This racist stuff has gone on long enough."

One of the counter-demonstrators

John Fowler, a 30-year-old worker from Canton in adjacent Cherokee County, told why he and his friends had come. "We've got the best county up here, we've got the best lake," he said, referring to Lake Lanier. "We'd like to keep it clear of black trash."

Virtually no blacks have lived in Forsyth County since 1912. That year, a white rape victim died after identifying three black men as her attackers. One of the accused men was taken from jail and killed by a mob. The other two were hanged after a quick trial, and the hundreds of black residents were driven out of the county.

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ADVERTISING SECTION

Life in a Buddhist Monastery: Instructive Rite of Passage

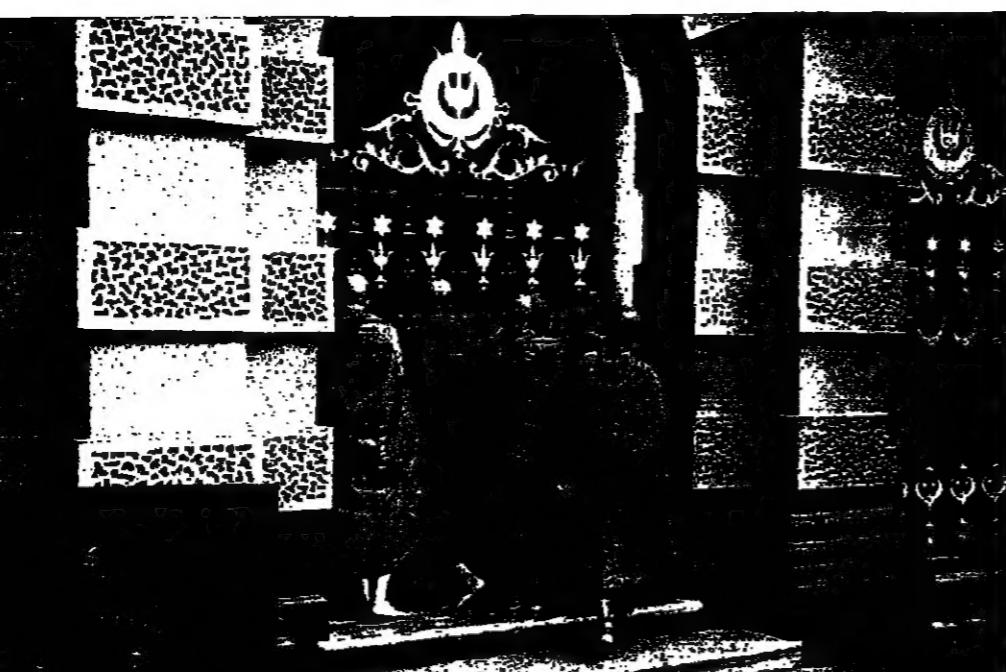
HANS Tuggener, the 50-year-old, Zurich-born general manager of Dietrichen Travel, became Thana Thanapawat last March after he was granted Thai nationality. But the most memorable aspect of his conversion was not the assumption of a second name. It was the two weeks he spent last August in a remote Buddhist monastery called Dao Ruang (Temple of the Stars) in the eastern part of the country.

Most young Thai males, whatever their social status, spend at least three months as monks. The rite, a traditional rite of passage, enables them to grow spiritually through austerity, strict discipline and the laborious study of Buddha's teachings. Thai custom dictates that if a son becomes a monk for any length of time he will save his parents' souls.

"Without this education the rest of my life would be incomplete," said Chiradej Salesung, a 22-year-old Thai, during his monkhood in the Wat Benchamabopit a few years ago. "No Thai man can be fulfilled without being familiar with the Buddhist scriptures, the 227 monastic rules and the 500 stories describing the Buddha's existence prior to Nirvana."

Thai men also return to the temple periodically during their professional lives. Tuggener, who has lived in Thailand since 1970, had a keen personal desire to experience monkhood when he became a Thai citizen.

"I have always been very intrigued by the calm approach to life in Thailand which is essentially due



Tuggener's interest in Buddhism came naturally. Indeed, almost everything in Thailand, from the spirit houses in front of most buildings to the oracle he consulted to select his Thai name, is religiously oriented.

He chose to enter the monastery Dao Ruang, where he had done some social work, because the head monk is a well-known teacher of Buddhism and meditation. Prior to entering the temple, Tuggener spent three months studying Buddhist teachings, songs and ceremonies in Pali (the liturgical language of Buddhism) with an employee who had been a monk for nine years.

He entered the temple, which has only nine monks, when his Martinique wife and their children were vacationing in Switzerland. The initiation ceremony was typical. On the first day his hair was shorn, he was dressed in white and assigned to provide food and traditional entertainment for a village feast — which neither he nor the other monks could attend. The next day, after replying to a number of questions posed by the head monk, he was given the traditional saffron robe.

"One part of the ceremony involved putting the robe on in front of the entire community who laughed hilariously when they saw I was still wearing underpants," Tuggener recalled, noting that monks wear nothing under their robes. "Another time I am rather hunched so we could begin morning prayers and immediately sensed that the

other monks realized I had briefly resumed my rushed, western habits."

Thanapawat's stint in the monastery was like that of any other Thai. He abstained from alcohol and sex, slept on a hard bed, did not touch money, rose at 4 a.m. and, after morning prayers, went into the street with a begging bowl for the daily food collection. Following the second and last meal of the day at 11 a.m., Thanapawat spent the afternoon studying prayers for the following morning. During the evening, the monks meditated until they went to bed at 10 p.m.

"The food collection is the most beautiful part of the experience because the village people come out in masses to practice religion and earn merit by offering food to the monks," Thanapawat continued.

When he left the monastery, Tuggener was debriefed. Returning to Switzerland for a short vacation, he explained that the bald head (which most monks have shaved with every full moon) was due to a skin infection. His Thai employees, however, were extremely proud of the effort.

"We realized he had become one of us," said Surachai Vibulpalid, one of the guides at Tuggener's travel agency.

In the future, Tuggener hopes to spend a three-month sojourn in the temple.

"Being ordained is festive and being a monk is instructive," he explained. "You gain a certain wisdom even during a brief stay."

— J.S.M.

ADVERTISING SECTION



The Sunday market in Bangkok attracts locals and tourists alike.

World Diners Develop an Appetite for Thai Cuisine

THAI restaurants are now cropping up in cities around the world. It was bound to happen — what's really surprising is that it took so long.

Though influenced by Chinese, Indian, Javanese and Portuguese cuisine, Thai food is quite distinctive.

Thai soups, often a meal in themselves, are eaten whenever they are ready, rather than as an introduction to the main dishes. Try *tom yum kung*, a soup of shrimp, lemongrass, red chillies, parsley and mushrooms; hot and sour soup with prawns; or coconut soup with chicken.

Besides soups, the variety of main dishes is tremendous. There's fried noodles with beef and broccoli, papaya salad, stuffed omelettes, fried pork with garlic, fried chicken with cashew nuts, fried beef in oyster sauce, fried fish in red sauce or a variety of curries.

Coriander is used copiously along with other spices, such as lemongrass, basil and cardamom. But it is the chilies that often prove most memorable. Foreigners often shrug nonchalantly when warned that Thai food is extremely hot and spicy, but may find out in a matter of seconds that they have lost the roof of their mouth. The sauces, such as fish sauce and shrimp paste, which are of a varying degrees of spiciness, are also worth tasting.

Desserts, in contrast, are mild. Try mangoes with sticky rice, gold threads (sugar and egg yolks), coconut ice cream or banana in coconut milk.

While mangoes usually head the list of native Thai fruits, also delicious are mangosteens (dark purple with white flesh), papayas (often eaten with breakfast), rambutans (soft, white and juicy), as well as the usual bananas, pineapples and melons.

Then there are the notorious durians — pungent and controversial. Some people adore the fruit. Others, however, have been known to call them "prickly stink bombs" or "medieval torture devices with the flavor of onions and ice cream." A foreign adventurer in the last century wrote that eating durian was "akin to eating herring and bleu cheese over an open sewer."

This is not a wine-drinking society; diners usually order beer or whiskey. The two most popular beers are Kloster, which is similar to American beer, and Singha, which has malty taste. There are plenty of imported whiskeys available; the popular local brand, called Mekhong, is definitely an acquired taste.

Thais like to eat in the open air, and the temperature is usually perfect for this in the evenings. There are numerous garden restaurants — a series of roofed, open-sided *salas* with ceiling fans, often joined by walkways over canals filled with water lilies. Indoor restaurants, nearly always air-conditioned, tend to favor exotic fish in aquariums and miniature waterfalls as part of the decor. If there is live music it's likely to be a succession of female singers. All is informal — no jackets or ties. And many tourists are surprised by how inexpensive the bill can be at the end of the meal.

A favorite haunt of Bangkok locals is the Sala Rim Naam (on the riverbank opposite the Oriental Hotel). To get here, there's a free ferry boat ride from the hotel; on a thunderous night during the monsoon season, this can be a dramatic opening act. The enclosed portion of the restaurant has a fixed meal and classical Thai dancing; but I prefer to sit outside on the terrace close to the river. Other favorite restaurants are the Taplaew (263/2 Asoke-Dindaeng), which has a large garden and Silom Village (Sukhumvit 31), also open-air but smaller, with a resident Thai string band and tennis courts at the back. The Seafood Restaurant (388 Sukhumvit) is like a huge supermarket — diners choose their fish and vegetables, place them in a cart and pay at the checkout counter. Everything is then whisked away, with specific cooking instructions, to the kitchens, which are in full view. The finished meal is served at nearby tables. Also good are the Wanakorn (off Sukhumvit 23), a small, inexpensive, modest cafe, and Lemongrass (Sukhumvit 24), quiet and achieving a growing reputation among serious diners.

Street food is everywhere — at most major intersections an entrepreneur has parked a cooking cart and set up three or four tables on the sidewalk. For those who want to try street food in a more ordered setting, the Ambassador Hotel (Sukhumvit at Soi 11) has a food center with rows of booths for picking and choosing.

— D.W.



Bangkok's Marble Temple, a popular tourist attraction.

Bangkok (Continued from first page)

Suan Pakkad palace, the residence of a Thai princess. On display are statues, musical instruments, furniture and weapons, as well as pottery from the Ban Chiang archeological site. There are lovely lawns and ponds with waterlilies.

To wind down after a long day of sightseeing, late-afternoon tea and cakes are calming and delightful in the high-ceilinged lobby of the Regent Hotel. If the daylight has gone, cocktails in one of the hotel's bars



will help set the stage for the next adventure: the nightlife.

A few notes on transport

Bangkok is one of the few cities in southeast Asia that has mercenary taxis. This means hard bargaining on the curbside, and frequent discrepancies in fares: foreigners are usually charged more than Thais. Taxi drivers speak little English, complicating the bargaining process all the more. A trip within central Bangkok should cost between 30 and 60 baht.

An alternative, and slightly cheaper than taxis, are the *tuk-tuks* — three-wheeled motor scooters with a two-seat carriage.

— David Wigg

to propositions that will get them out of the club. The client usually must pay a bar fine (\$12) to liberate a particular person for the evening.

But Parpong Road is not just for men. During a recent tour of its establishments, many foreign couples were evident in the clubs (which have enticing names like Lipstick, Limelight, King's Castle, Pink Panther, Goldfinger and Spot-On), watching performances ranging from seductive to comic. Another important aspect of nightlife is found at Thai massage parlors, which range from the traditional and legitimate to the avant garde and somewhat less-legitimate.

"Thais love massage more than anything in the world and there is a wide variety available," one Thai businessman explained.

Naturally Bangkok's ribald nightlife leads to the obligatory jokes:

A young Thai man approaches a foreign visitor and says, "Sir, can I find you a young girl?" No. "Sir, can I find you a young boy?" No. "Sir, can I find you a transvestite?" No. "Sir," the young man asks with great concern, "why did you come to Bangkok?"

— J.S.M.

Tips and Tidbits for Tourists

THAI are extremely tolerant and it is difficult to offend them. But they are also a traditional people, and will appreciate it if you show deference to their social and religious practices.

Thais revere the royal family and do not appreciate any criticism of the monarchy.

Outward expressions of anger are considered crude and boorish. Thai men, in a simple expression of friendship, often hold hands in public. Thai couples, however, do not because public display of affection between sexes is frowned upon.

The average Thai surname is long and complex and people are usually called by their first name preceded by *Khun*. When greeting a Thai, men should say "Sawadee, krab" and women "Sawadee, ka."

It is the Thai belief that the head is the highest and most important part of the body. Do not touch someone's head, even as a friendly gesture to a child.

Always remove shoes before entering a Thai temple, home or mosque. Do not go into religious shrines shirtless, in shorts or wearing other unsuitable attire. Women cannot enter the monks' quarters nor give anything directly to a monk.

Each Buddha image is regarded as a sacred object. Do not climb on them or otherwise show disrespect.

It is considered rude to point your feet, or foot, at a person or object. Be careful while sitting cross-legged.

— J.S.M.

Hotel Wars Escalate — Tourists Big Winners

THE "Great Bangkok Hotel War" — a marketing melee among some of the world's finest hotels — is benefiting the budgets of 1987 business travelers and tourists to the Thai capital.

It began some four years ago when over-optimistic projections on tourist arrivals ignited a building boom. Faced with a room glut and a skyline of rising competitors, managements resorted to employee-napping, travel agency arm-twisting and hefty price-cutting.

While Thailand expects to welcome a record of nearly three million visitors in 1987, the government's Tourism Authority of Thailand estimates a room occupancy rate in Bangkok of only 64 percent. Establishments from the mighty Oriental Hotel to guest houses for backpackers are offering tempting discounts.

In war and peace, Bangkok's hotels have been quietly Thai-style, garnering laurels. The city's top general managers — Germans and Americans dominate — ascribe this to a happy confluence of low labor costs, an innate Thai gift for service and, humbly, their own international management expertise.

The Oriental regularly appears on lists rating the world's best hotels. Opened 110 years ago as a seafarer's lodge along the broad Chao Phraya River, the hotel blends the languid atmosphere of Joseph Conrad and Somerset Maugham.

Nightlife in Bangkok: Thai-ing One On

DON'T be concerned that the varied forms of nightlife found throughout Thailand, long the capital of nocturnal excitement in Asia, have gone downhill, been altered for the worse, or even disappeared. They haven't.

There is still something for everyone — from classical dance performances at the National Theater to the somewhat less-classical establishments on Patpong Road, where nightclubs are thriving, drinks are inexpensive (U.S. \$1-3) by foreign standards and the entertainment is as varied as the people looking for it. Malaysians, of course, still cross the border to Hat Yai, and South Koreans still has its neon-lit streets. But Bangkok is where most foreigners go for action.

"Nightlife is an interesting facet of the vast array of tourist possibilities in Thailand," said Dharmnoon Prachubmoh, governor of the Tourism Authority of Thailand. "I would estimate that at least a quarter of all visitors take a look at what is going on."

Thai classical dancing, which is performed at some restaurants, originated as entertainment for the royal family. The graceful dances are based on episodes from the Ramayana, the great Indian epic story, and each precise movement is full of

meaning — stomping means anger, and pointing to the heart means love. The dancers, who perform to the accompaniment of exotic music, are adorned in lovely silk and brocade costumes.

The dancing style at the clubs is hardly classical. Seminude, or starkly nude, women participate in a variety of revues which can be seen for the price of a drink. One revue employs a real shower on the stage, another a large and very live cobra, while a third show resembles cheerleading.

have closed. But there are still hundreds in existence, and locals or hotel staffers will readily provide a visitor with personal lists of favorites.

The dancing style at the clubs is hardly classical. Seminude, or starkly nude, women participate in a variety of revues which can be seen for the price of a drink. One revue employs a real shower on the stage, another a large and very live cobra, while a third show resembles cheerleading.

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Its ratio of 800 crisply unobtrusive staffers to 406 rooms makes hoteliers in the West throw fits of envy. And a sunset drink beneath the hotel's palms, while contemplating rice barges and frolicking canal children, is among the exquisite pleasures of a Thailand stay.

The Oriental, however, no longer monopolizes windows on the River of Kings and its kaleidoscopic life. In competition are two other five-star properties, the newly opened, 697-room Shangri-la and the towering Royal Orchid Sheraton.

The riverside hotels are favored by tourists as well as businessmen who don't have to account for every unproductive minute. Some of Bangkok's finest attractions, including its lacework of canals and the Grand Palace, are within a pleasant launch ride of this trio.

In easier reach of major business and embassies are the Regent Bangkok and the Dusit Thani, the latter located at the head of the city's "Wall Street," Silom Road. The Dusit, which has recently added more restaurants and upgraded many of its 523 rooms, maintains a loyal following among executives, diplomats and foreign correspondents.

The elegant and airy Regent, a 1983 arrival, is sometimes regarded as the Oriental's arch-rival. It has, in

fact, siphoned off some VIPs and attracted a growing number of business travelers.

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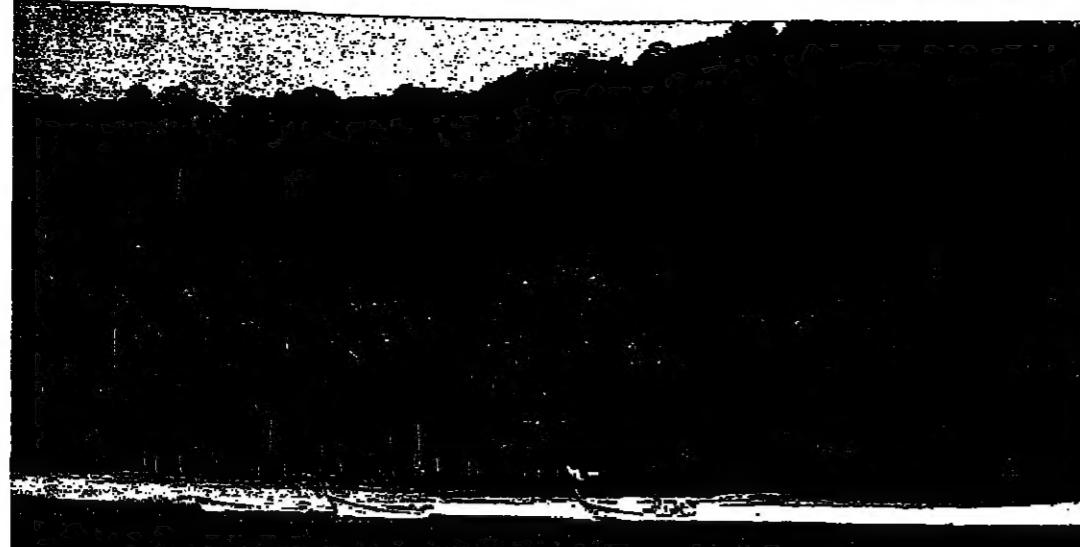
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ADVERTISING SECTION

Thailand's Beachfront Tourism Center: Major Resorts and Hidden Treasures



Phuket, undiscovered a decade ago, is now a prime spot for tourists seeking relaxed resorts.

THE 2,500-kilometer-long Thai coastline, which runs along both the Gulf of Thailand and the Indian Ocean, includes palm-fringed and rugged, rocky beaches, jungle-covered cliffs, deserted coves, unspoiled fishing villages, isolated islands and sophisticated resorts.

While the crowded beaches sometimes resemble those in the south of France, there are many secluded stretches of sand where coconut palms far outnumber people. Thai resorts range from the popular and fashionable to the seclusive and still-undiscovered. But almost everywhere there are facilities for waterskiing, parasailing, windsurfing, snorkeling and, of course, sunbathing.

The Thai Riviera, as the coast on the Gulf of Thailand is called, is a favorite for many Thais because of its proximity to Bangkok. They usually head to Bang Saen, 100 kilometers southeast of the capital, or the crescent bay of Pattaya, 150 kilometers away.

For a more relaxing spot on the

Thai Riviera, drop in on Hua Hin, 200 kilometers from Bangkok on the western side of the Gulf. This resort, which has been popular since

Boonring Pataya (the name means "the wind blowing from the southwest to the northeast at the beginning of the rainy season") is the Thai Riviera's jet-set resort. And it keeps maintaining the social pace. The Royal Cliff Beach Hotel added a royal touch last month when it opened the seven-story Royal Wing with 86 executive suites.

Pataya's night life, which has earned it the name Patpong-on-the-Sea, continues to foster the reputation that began when it was "discovered" by American servicemen in the early 1960s. But before hitting the beaches and clubs, there are other attractions: a good daytime view of the area can be obtained from Phra Tannak Hill, elephants can be seen demonstrating their working capabilities at the Pataya Elephant Kraal, and it is worth boating to the nearby coral islands.

For a more relaxing spot on the

Thai Riviera, drop in on Hua Hin, 200 kilometers from Bangkok on the western side of the Gulf. This

resort, which has been popular since

the royal family constructed a summer residence there in the 1950s, has spacious beaches, a golf course and the usual water-oriented sports.

Hua Hin's fame is also associated with the Railway Hotel, which was used to portray Phnom Penh's hotel in the film "The Killing Fields." It is also known for the opportunity it offers for a solitary horse ride on the beach. Further south is Songkhla, an old Chinese city built on a peninsula with beaches, a lake and two offshore islands called Cat and Rat.

Phuket, undiscovered a decade ago, is now a "must" resort for tourists. Known as the pearl of Thailand (the name, however, means "hill" in Thai), Phuket is 550 miles south of Bangkok on the Andaman Sea and is most easily reached by plane — though a causeway connects it to the mainland.

It is an island of rubber plantations, muddied water buffalo plowing rice paddies, and spiced meals eaten to the lapping of waves. Stalls throughout the Phuket sell fresh

avocados, coconuts, pineapples, bananas and rambutans for a pittance. There are numerous beaches — Patong, Nai Yang, Surin, Kata and Karon — and an interesting Sino-Portuguese architectural style in the main town. Phuket activities include diving in the coral reefs and searching the caves for the nests that are key ingredients in bird's nest soup.

Visitors should also take a boat trip to the islands in Phang Nga Bay where the James Bond film "The Man With the Golden Gun" was shot. Today, contemporary Goldfingers meet you with cultured pearl necklaces, smoked mackerel and painted shells. Another worthwhile

trip is to the Phi Phi islands, three hours east of Phuket.

Another interesting coastal re-

treachery on the Andaman Sea is Ranong, near the border with Burma, which features hot springs and is a good base from which to visit the Surin and Samilan islands.

For those seeking a bit of soli-

tude, the up and coming island is Koh Samui, Thailand's third-largest island, 268 nautical miles south of Bangkok. Samui still has few hotels and is unspoiled, though that may change when an airport opens in April. The island features a national park and is the source for most of the coconuts sold in Bangkok.

— J.S.M.

TRAVEL IN

Thailand - in Facts and Figures

Population: 55 million.
Inhabitants: Thai (80%), Chinese (10%), Malay (4%), Lao, Burmese, Vietnamese, Indian and other (6%).

Capital: Bangkok (population approximately 6 million).

Size: 514,000 square kilometers (the size of France), shaped somewhat like the head of an elephant.

Official language: Thai. English and Chinese widely spoken.

Religion: Buddhism (94%), Islam (4%), Confucianism (1.5%), Christianity and others (0.5%).

Government: Independent since 1238, governed by Constitutional Monarchy since 1932.

Head of State: His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej (Rama IX).

Currency: Thai baht (U.S.\$1 = 26 baht) divided into 100 satang.

Local time: GMT + 7 hours.

Weights and measures: Metric.

Location: Shares borders with Burma, Laos, Kampuchea and Malaysia.

Geography: Mountainous north, semi-arid northeast plateau, fertile central plains and tropical southern isthmus.

Weather: Hot season from March to May, rainy season from June to Oct., cool season from Nov. to Feb.

Shopping: True Bargains - and Some Fakes - Abound

MERGE a 600-year-old artistic tradition, superb contemporary craftsmanship and low labor costs and you get some great shopping.

Silks and cottons, sapphires and rubies, antiques and "instant antiques" are some of Thailand's best buys. Finely tailored suits and made-to-order shoes, once Hong Kong's great forte, are now found at far cheaper prices in Bangkok. Hand-crafted silverware and celadons are other goods.

The classic start to a Bangkok shopping spree is Jim Thompson, the premier silk store named after the American who revived the Thai silk industry after World War II (and then disappeared mysteriously into the jungle).

The two-story emporium vibrates with elegant saladeries and unfurling bolts of house-designed and printed silks and cottons. The colors, scenes and designs are matchless — and prices are available from \$25 to \$40.

A yard of printed silk fabric sells for the equivalent of U.S. \$13.50; a ready-made cocktail dress averages \$135, and a cotton day dress just under \$60. In the men's department, a long-sleeved silk shirt is \$52; one in cotton \$35, and a silk tie costs \$12.50.

Visitors with at least four days in town can have a pair of ant-eater hide boots made to measure (\$115 at the well-regarded Siam Bootery).

Experts at Bangkok's National Museum estimate that as many as nine out of ten items sold at the city's antique stores are fakes, with the antique dealers themselves often victims of some of the world's most skillful forgers. Furthermore, it is a rare dealer who will show his best pieces to anyone but a top collector. So unless one comes equipped with a vast knowledge of Thai, Burmese and Cambodian art history and is prepared to gamble large sums, a sound policy is to shun expensive antiques and go for the fake.

An "instant antique" industry has mushroomed in recent years and the results — in wood, ceramic, bronze and stone — are often of remarkable quality. More and more

1987: The Year to See Thailand

TOURISM outdistances rice, tapioca, textiles and teak as Thailand's largest earner of foreign exchange. The number of tourists visiting the country last year increased 11 percent to 2.6 million, and authorities estimate there will be almost 3 million visitors in 1987, which has been targeted as "Visit Thailand Year."

Why go now?

Dhamnoon Prachubmoh, the governor of the Tourism Authority of Thailand, discussed the country's tourism strategies during a recent promotional stopover in Nice, France.

Why is 1987 "Visit Thailand Year"?

The private and public sector, and the Thai population in general, is gearing up for His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej's 60th birthday on December 5. The birthday which completes a person's fifth 12-year cycle is a momentous event in the life of every Thai and the nation will salute the king with exceptional fanfare.

The Thai people will pay their respects to the monarch with 12 months of color and pageantry, special festivals and celebrations. Our regular festivals will be enhanced and special events will be held, including many symbolic state ceremonies steeped in ancient traditions.

The major events will be the royal procession on October 16 and the king's birthday on December 5. The fete, not just in Bangkok but throughout the country, and each province will feature traditional local fairs, giving tourists an added incentive to move off the beaten path. There is something exciting every week and we expect it to create an increased interest in visiting Thailand.

What would you do if you had a week to spend in Thailand?

First of all, I would extend my itinerary to two weeks, which is the amount of time necessary for one to get a good sense of the country. I would spend three days in Bangkok and then pursue personal interests — sunbathing, shopping, game viewing, culture, architecture or archaeology — in different parts of the country.

Thai hotels, food and nightlife are all affordable and there are numerous shopping bargains in fashion, leather, antiques and other goods. The cost of living is half as much outside Bangkok as within the capital — where prices are about a third of those in Europe.

What kind of reception will tourists find?

Many people are amazed to find

that Thais are friendly, easy to meet and hospitable. They are surprised by our long history, cultural traditions and religion. These things simply are not found in surrounding countries.

Businessmen who come for the frequent conferences in Bangkok, which bring in about 20 percent of our total tourism revenue, are also pleased with the facilities for conventions.

What are your plans for Thai tourism during the next five years?

Tourism is a revenue-earning

sector.

and employment-creating sector. We will expand the range of facilities and services to more parts of the country to further make Thailand a top destination for travelers. We will keep catering to knowledgeable, experienced travelers, about 30 percent of whom will continue to come on package tours, but will still keep hotel rates and prices reasonable.

Are there any serious problems that should be anticipated by prospective tourists?

The major problem is that, except within Bangkok, Thais do not always speak English. But there are excellent guides and tourist offices throughout the country.

Getting to Thailand is no problem. Thai Airways International currently flies to 45 key destinations in 30 countries. Last autumn it added Stockholm and Düsseldorf to its European routes. The airline has an added service, Royal Orchid Holidays, which sets up group or individual tours. And there are a number of other good local agencies, like Dietrich Travel and World Travel Service.

The Don Muang International Airport, which will open a new arrivals wing this spring and complete the departure hall by December, is a hub for international flights to southeast Asia.

— J.S.M.

Thailand offers a wide range of superb shoes, handbags and various accessories in leather as well as snake, lizard and crocodile skins (the crocs are farmed, not shot in the wild). Custom-made women's shoes in various materials are available from \$25 to \$40.

Bangkok is rapidly becoming a major world center for precious stone cutting as well as jewelry design. Rubies, sapphires, diamonds and other stones are imported — or smuggled — from Burma, Sri Lanka, New Zealand, Australia and even further afield.

There is also a lot of colored glass around, beckoning shoppers to stick to outlets with solid, long-standing reputations and which provide certificates of authenticity. Like the award-winning *The Lovers* at the Dusit Thani Hotel, a number of the best are found in the arcades of first-class hotels. Tok Kwang jewelers is one of several which have been around for years.

Expect to pay between \$110 and \$200 per carat for a passable ruby, with the finest, Burma-mined ones beginning in the \$3,800 range and soaring to \$75,000 per carat. A super sapphire can be purchased for around \$1,200 a carat.

Experts at Bangkok's National Museum estimate that as many as nine out of ten items sold at the city's antique stores are fakes, with the antique dealers themselves often victims of some of the world's most skillful forgers. Furthermore, it is a rare dealer who will show his best pieces to anyone but a top collector. So unless one comes equipped with a vast knowledge of Thai, Burmese and Cambodian art history and is prepared to gamble large sums, a sound policy is to shun expensive antiques and go for the fake.

Bargaining is refined to an art in Thailand's open-air markets, where selling is invariably handled by wizened women with sharp tongues and a twinkle in their eyes.

Bangkok's markets, especially the mind-boggling Weekend Market, are best explored with a Thai speaker, especially when bargaining is called for (locals can extract better prices than foreigners). Nancy Chandler's annotated map of city markets is an excellent guide to a world of exotica and day-to-day life of the Thais.

— T.V.M.

Ancient Ayutthaya features numerous ruins, temples and crumbling shrines.

Guiding the Way to Ancient Ayutthaya

WHILE it is possible to explore Thailand as an individual, many tourists hire an experienced guide or join an organized tour for part of their local exploration. These solutions are eminently practical, allowing for minimal problems with language and the tony Thai traffic, while providing a prime source of historical information and contemporary gossip.

Perhaps the best way to visit Ayutthaya, which 220 years ago had a population greater than London's, is by taking the day-long guided tour from the Oriental Hotel. The 740 baht (U.S.\$28.50) excursion leaves by bus, returns by boat and includes a buffet luncheon during the downstream cruise on the Chao Phraya River. While there is hardly anything exciting about the 90-minute bus ride, the four-hour boat trip provides an interesting glimpse of the hectic lifestyles of the 15 percent of the Thai population living on the water.

The historical trek focuses on the fabled capital of Siam between 1350, when it was founded by King Rama Thibodi, and 1767, when it fell to the invading Burmese. Ayutthaya's period of absolute monarchy ("which meant the king could cut your throat anytime he wanted to," explained one guide-for-the-day, Somsak Thaiphukdee) included the reigns of 33 different kings.

Somsak started the morning by cracking jokes to the mainly western and Japanese group of tourists: "Don't get lost because you all look alike," "Most of the 450-year-old

antiques they will try to sell you were finished yesterday — but don't tell them I told you that," "A set of postcards is the most authentic thing you can buy."

There are 500 ruins, temples and crumbling shrines in Ayutthaya and some can be visited by taking a boat on the canals. But Somsak contends it is better to visit two or three of the best on foot.

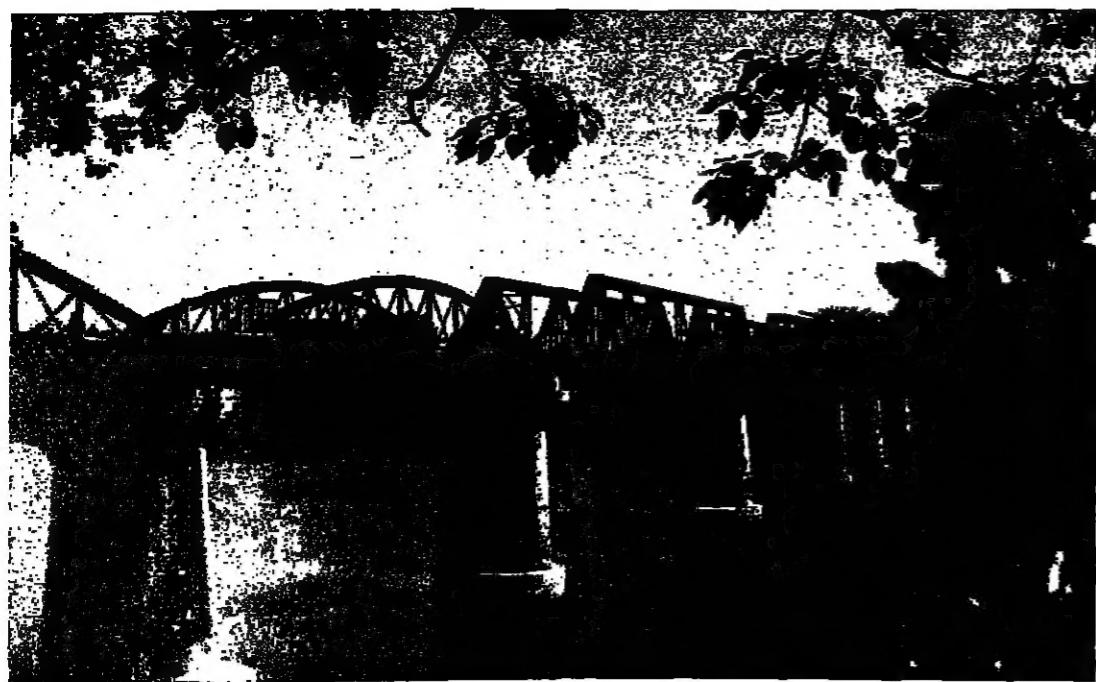
A good first stop is Wat Yai Chai Mongkol (the Temple of Great Celebration of Victory), built to commemorate a successful single-handed elephant combat by King Narai against the Burmese in 1688. The temple garden is replete with aphorisms on almost every tree ("Check your mind from evil," "Riches ruin the fool," "Cut down the forest of passion but not real trees") and Somsak, in the same spirit, tells everyone to "Please take your time, but hurry."

The second stop is at the Wat Mahathat (the Great Relic of Lord Temple) with grounds filled with numerous pagodas, *chedis* and a lot of sculpted Buddhas, some of which were beheaded for illicit export. A third stop features Thailand's largest bronze statue of Buddha, at Viharn Phra Mongkol Bopit, where Thai visitors throw bamboo sticks for the oracle.

As a follow-up to this glimpse of Ayutthaya's haunting past, one can visit the more intact Bank Pa-In Palace, which was the summer residence of Rama V and Rama VI in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Bank Pa-In is an intriguing mix

— J.S.M.





Above the Bridge on the River Kwai

JUNGLE Rafts Hotel — I am swaying in a hammock on the terrace of a floating hotel about 70 kilometers upstream from the Bridge on the River Kwai. There is neither electricity nor flush toilets, but the 20 thatched-roof rooms, floating on bamboo poles lashed together with hemp cord, do have running water.

The hotel can be reached by taking a long-tail boat up the brown Kwai River but, despite the relative isolation, I am not the only one here. On the nearby shore, an elephant is being ridden by his Thai trainer and some water buffalo are bathing downstream. There are two

monkeys sleeping in a cage in the dining room.

I don't miss the air conditioning, automobiles or telephones of overly civilized Bangkok, but I do find it just as difficult to dodge elephant droppings in the dense, mountainous jungle as those of lesser beasts on city sidewalks. That is about the only inconvenience of being in this somewhat remote spot. I resolve it by hiring the elephant to ride through the jungle and explore some nearby caves and shrines.

At night, after a Thai-French dinner (the hotel is owned by a Frenchman, Jacques Bes, who, one assumes, provided the culinary in-

struction), there is a unique dance and music performance by the Mon tribespeople running the hotel. The star is a child dancer who can't be much more than three years old, and he generates enthusiastic applause from myself and the other Dutch, British and Australian guests. After the performance I get that great bonus of the wilds: a sound ten-hour sleep.

The Jungle Rafts hotel is a good place to reflect and relax, or just relax, after visiting the Bridge on the River Kwai and the temple-run JEATH Museum — so-called because the monks did not want to call it Death Museum and instead

named it after the primary nations (Japan, England, America and Australia, Thailand and Holland) which participated in action here during World War II.

The JEATH museum, and the 6982 tombstones in the well-kept and tranquil British-run cemetery in Kanchanaburi, are both vivid reminders of what occurred just over 40 years ago. Allied prisoners of war and labor from India and a number of southeast Asian countries were forced by their Japanese captors to build a 415-kilometer-long railroad, appropriately nicknamed the Death Railway, to maintain the Japanese army in Burma. Construction began in September 1942, and when it was completed 16 months later over 16,000 Allied prisoners, and many more Asian laborers, had died of sickness, malnutrition, beatings, exhaustion and injuries.

The simple but moving museum is set in a bamboo hut on the same location in which some prisoners lived. Modeled on their prison compound, it displays the cramped space in which they slept and subsisted primarily on rice and pumpkin soup. It contains moving photographs, detailed written accounts and an array of articles (helmets, canteens, and guns) used by the prisoners and their wardens.

"It was routine work. Clear the jungle, uproot the trees, make a camp, prepare the embankment; then move on and start all over again," recalled Dutchman Cornelius Evers. "To the Japanese, we prisoners were in disgrace because, according to their rules, it was more honorable to die than accept defeat."

The railway, which became even more important to the Japanese when their sea and air routes were controlled by the Allies, was embodied by the jungle-camouflaged bridge built amid low hills. Connecting the valleys of Kwai Yai and Kwai Noi, it became a symbol of this World War II theater and was featured in the film "The Bridge on the River Kwai," released in 1957, adapted from the novel by Pierre Boulle and starring Alec Guinness.

It takes only a few minutes to walk across the bridges, which include many of the original elliptical spans built with material imported from Java and a 100-meter central rectangular section added after the Thais purchased the railway in the 1950s.

When I visit, two saffron-robed monks walking across the bridge are constantly forced to step aside to avoid motor scooters sprinting between the tracks. I walk a few hundred meters up the line and imagine that the people who were forced to construct it probably tried to build the world's worst railway.

One villager recalls that at the time she, like everyone else, was constantly scared. She tells me about the day the bridge was bombed and the incomparable relief when it was all over. She makes it clear she prefers her present occupation: selling bananas and fruits to contemporary tourists.

Like many Kwai visitors who have seen the movie, I find myself whistling the popular score as I leave the bridge behind.

—J.S.M.

long, narrow wooden boats manned by competitive oarsmen and festooned with flags and flowers.

Kites have long been popular in Thailand, for sport and, in one memorable instance, in warfare: an Ayutthaya governor quelled a 1690 rebellion by flying massive kites over a besieged city and bombarding it with jars of explosives.

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Chieng Mai's floating market, a prime spot for local produce.



Chiang Mai's Varied Highlights: Elephant Rides, a Thai Massage

CHIANG Mai — The best way to get introduced to this capital city of northern Thailand is to climb the 306 steps, or take the tramway, to the Wat Phra That, the magnificent Buddhist temple on Doi Suthep mountain.

From this thousand-meter-high perch the visitor has a panoramic view of the town, its fertile valley and lush forests, as well as the surrounding mountains which form the lower ranges of the Himalayas. Looking another five kilometers up Doi Suthep, the visitor can see Phu Pha Daeng Palace, the summer residence of King Bhumibol. The palace's elaborate gardens flower with roses, orchids, hibiscus and bougainvilleas.

Chiang Mai, founded in 1296 and once the capital of the kingdom of Lanna Thai (the Land of a Million Rice Fields), is one-fortieth the size of Bangkok, with a relatively moderate climate that provides a refreshing change from the often-humid south. Those visiting Chiang Mai early next month will be in time for the city's annual flower festival (Feb. 6-8), featuring a spectacular floral float procession that depicts episodes from Thai mythology, legends and folk tales.

Another enjoyable day to drop in is April 13. This is Songkran, the traditional Thai New Year, marked by religious merit-making, parades and dancing throughout the country. It is traditional for celebrants to sprinkle scented water on their elders, monks and Buddha images as a gesture of veneration. But in Chiang Mai, where the new year falls in the middle of the dry season, Songkran celebrations are a bit more rambunctious than most, involving a substantial amount of water-throwing. Everyone gets wet.

This is somewhat out of character for the city: Chiang Mai and its population of 200,000 are usually well-ordered and quiet. Although not quite the relaxed village of a dozen years ago, the moated city has a quiet beauty, with many northern-style temples dating from the 1300s.

It is extremely difficult not to go on a shopping binge in Chiang Mai. Prices for most items, including Burmese antiques and jade, are generally lower than in Bangkok and there is a wide range of locally made goods.

As always, it's wise to pay careful attention while shopping ("Fake it, there are a lot of future antiques for sale," admitted one shopper). As a general policy, don't purchase anything without bartering the price down 10 to 25 percent. There is not a profusion of hard sell, but shopkeepers in Chiang Mai are keen to make a deal, sometimes offering to meet prospective customers at the airport with a credit card machine to help influence last-minute purchasing decisions.

Chiang Mai is now Thailand's second major tourist destination and has all the required facilities, including a golf course at Lanna where the female caddies are distinguished by their bright orange apparel.

There are numerous hotels, like the Orchid and the Rincon, downtown, but many visitors prefer making the 45-minute drive to the Mae Sa Valley Mountain Holiday Resort (Tel: 053-251191, Telex: 82436) located amid thickly forested terrain.

By staying in the valley one can more easily visit Miao tribal villages and an elephant camp with a daily show featuring the animals at work. There are only 4,000 working elephants left in Thailand; another elephant camp is located in Chiang Dao. A short ride can be taken for \$1, or a longer trek in the jungles can be arranged. There are also many colorful orchid nurseries, and the Sai Nam Phung Orchid Nursery sells bottled orchid seedlings (\$8 for six plants) as well as the food and anti-fungus spray to help them grow.

Although Chiang Mai is 13 hours by train and nine hours by bus from Bangkok (until the late 1920s it could only be reached by an arduous river journey or an elephant ride of several weeks), it can be more easily reached by a one-hour airplane flight (round-trip fare from Bangkok, \$93). One of the advantages of the latter is that near the airport, and behind the Old Chiang Mai Cultural Center (where the nightly Thai banquet and hill tribe show, with an elaborate presentation featuring the costumes and dances of the seven hill tribes native to the area, is well-worth attending) is the Rinkaw Phovech Ancient Massage where the masseuses practice the invigorating traditional Thai massage (\$8 an hour).

"I take groups of foreigners for a massage after long bus trips in northern Thailand and they never want to leave," said one guide, Buakiew ("Betty") Thaibai, who suggested that more adventurous travelers may want to visit Maw Hong Son near the Burma border, or Chiang Rai, near the 200,000-square-kilometer Golden Triangle formed by the borders of Thailand, Laos and Burma.

In both places one can trek between villages of various hill tribes — including the Miao, Lisu, Lahu, Yao, Akha, Lava and Karen of Tibeto-Burman origin — and in Chiang Rai there is an exciting trip on the Mekong River (and a chance to sample the renowned Mekong whiskey). Also worth a visit are the stunning temples in Lamphun as well as Thailand's highest mountain, waterfalls and wildlife in the Doi Inthanon National Park.

"But wherever you go," said Thaibai, who tries to get a rubdown at least once a week, "don't leave Chiang Mai without getting a massage."

—J.S.M.



Thai boxing demands the use of hands, feet, elbows and legs.

judo, throwing, butting, biting, spitting and kicking while down." Even so, it's not uncommon for the boxers to bend the rules.

The activity in the ring, however, is only part of the show. Additional action is focused on bets, usually made during the third and fourth rounds. Bettors hold fists, hands and

fingers in the air to indicate the chosen fighter, the odds and the amount of the bet. When two betters come to terms, a split-second process, they clasp fingers to seal the deal.

Similar betting occurs during boat racing, which is featured at many country fairs and involves

long, narrow wooden boats manned by competitive oarsmen and festooned with flags and flowers.

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Chieng Mai's floating market, a prime spot for local produce.

Finding Bliss - at the Bangkok Barbershop

THE elaborate list of services at the Panache Barbershop is similar to a menu in a three-star restaurant. There is not only the usual shampoo, shave, haircut, pedicure, manicure and facial but also the more exotic ear cleaning, eye wash and head massage. I look at the cast of actors — Kanjanan Nakulai performing the pedicure and manicure, Noi Amphan staring with the head and neck massage — leaving many sites untouched.

Thailand is a street fighter's dream — a combination of karate, taekwondo and Western boxing that demands the deft use of hands, feet, elbows, knees and legs. The sport began during the Ayutthaya period, between 1350 and 1767, and the only taboo, according to the official regulations, are "wrestling,

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The object of contemporary kite

New International Bond Issues

Compiled by Laurence Devilete

Issuer	Amount (millions)	Mat.	Coupl.	Price	Price end week	Terms
FLOATING RATE NOTES						
NHL First Funding	\$50	2013	0.20	100	—	Over 3-month Libor. Average life 4 to 7 years. Fees 0.50%.
Crédit Foncier	FF 1,000	1994	0.25	100	99.90	Over 3-month French Treasury bill rate. Callable at par in 1990. Also 100,000 3-month warrants, priced at 20 francs each, exercisable into a 10% hard due 1994. Fees 0.25%.
FIXED-COUPON						
Austria	\$200	1997	7/4	101 1/4	99.85	Noncallable. Fees 2%.
Barrick Resources	\$50	1992	2	open	—	Noncallable. Each note exchangeable for 100 grams of gold after one year. Fees 2.5%. Terms to be set Jan. 27.
Charter Consolidated	\$75	1994	8/4	100%	—	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
Nishin Steel Company	\$70	1992	7/4	101 1/4	100.00	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
Skandia Int'l Holding	\$200	1992	7/4	101 1/4	99.50	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
Thomson Brandt Int'l	\$160	1994	8	103 1/4	101.38	Noncallable. Each \$10,000 note with 25 ten-month warrants, every pair of which is exercisable at par into a 1,000-share bond paying 6% and due 1994. Foreign exchange rate set at 1/425 mark per dollar. Fees 1.5%.
European Coal & Steel Community	DM 175	1997	5%	99%	98.25	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
Honeywell	DM 150	1997	6 1/4	100	97.50	Noncallable. Fees 2.5%.
Japan Finance Corp. for Municipal Enterprises	DM 100	1997	5%	99 1/2	—	Callable at 100% in 1993. Fees 2.5%.
World Bank	DM 700	1997	5%	100	98.63	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
GMAC U.K. Finance	E 40	1992	10 1/4	101 1/4	—	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
Cariplo	ECU 100	1995	7/4	101 1/4	99.25	Noncallable. Fees 2%.
Denmark	ECU 200	1994	7%	101 1/4	99.25	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
Mortgage Bank of Denmark	ECU 75	1997	7/4	101 1/4	99.00	Noncallable. Fees 2%.
Nederlandse Gasunie	ECU 50	1994	7/4	101 1/4	99.75	Noncallable. Each 1,000-ECU note with one 9-month warrant, priced at 22 ECUs, exercisable at par into an identical bond. Fees 1.5%.
Montreal City	CA \$5	1997	9	101 1/4	99.63	Noncallable. Fees 2%.
Indonesia Australia	Aus \$50	1990	14%	101 1/4	99.38	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%. Increased from Aus \$40 million.
New South Wales	Aus \$50	1990	14%	101	99.00	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
Royal Trustco	Aus \$50	1992	14%	101 1/4	99.88	Noncallable. Fees 2%.
Société Générale Australia	Aus \$50	1990	14%	101 1/4	99.50	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%. Increased from Aus \$40 million.
Swedish Export Credit	Aus \$50	1990	14%	101 1/4	100.00	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
World Bank	Aus \$100	1992	14%	101 1/4	99.63	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
Denmark	Y 100,000	1992	5 1/4	101 1/4	100.00	Redeemable and callable at par in 1991. Fees 1.5%.
Sweden	Y 50,000	1994	5 1/4	101 1/4	99.88	Noncallable. Fees 1.5%.
EQUITY-LINKED						
Edens U.K.	\$75	1997	open	100	99.00	Coupon indicated at 5%. Redeemable in 1993 to yield 7.75% and callable at 101 in 1993. Convertible at an expected 10% premium. Fees 2.5%. Terms to be set Jan. 25.
Hino Motors	\$60	1992	open	100	—	Coupon indicated at 3.5%. Noncallable. Each \$2,000 note with one warrant exercisable into company's shares at an expected 20% premium. Fees 2.5%. Terms to be set Jan. 25.
Nishimatsu Construction	\$50	1992	open	100	—	Coupon indicated at 3.5%. Noncallable. Each \$5,000 note with one warrant exercisable into company's shares at an expected 20% premium. Fees 2.5%. Terms to be set Jan. 25.
Générale Int'l Finance Luxembourg	DM 350	1994	2 1/4	100	100.75	Each 5,000-mark note with 30 four-year warrants each exercisable into one 500 shares of 3,450 Belgian francs, a 1.20% premium. Fees 2.5%.
Edens U.K.	\$85	1997	open	100	99.00	Coupon indicated at 7%. Redeemable in 1993 to yield 10% and callable at 101 in 1993. Convertible at an expected 10% premium. Fees 2.5%. Terms to be set Jan. 25.

BONDS: Stock Gyration and Currency Worries Make the Market Cautious

(Continued from first finance page) increased inflation. The view there is that the weaker than expected fourth-quarter growth in U.S. gross national product, the country's total output of goods and services, reported last week is evidence that U.S. interest rates are poised for a further decline. Indeed, a rate cut at this point might be the trigger needed to drop the dollar the further 10 percent the Americans desire.

But bond market professionals are increasingly wary that the next U.S. interest-rate cut may be the last, given the anticipated increase in inflation, and that when it comes it may be the signal to get out of the dollar bond market.

The increasing discomfort with fixed-coupon dollar bonds is evidenced by the decreasing share of new issues denominated in dollars. Also notable is that Eurodollar bonds are being offered at terms that all analysts agree are attractive, meaning that underwriters are

pricing paper to appeal to investors rather than to take on their own inventories.

Austria's \$200 million of 10-year bonds were marketed at terms to yield 65 basis points or 0.65 percent, over the yield on comparably dated Treasury paper, while Skandia International, also rated triple-A, was offered at 73 basis points over the curve.

Thomson Brandt gave holders of \$160 million bonds 10-month warrants to buy or convert into 94 percent DM bonds. The exercise price was set at 1,742.5 DM, meaning the mark would have to appreciate another 4.5 percent for the warrant to be in the money. If all the warrants were exercised for cash, Thomson would have 200 million DM and \$160 million of bonds outstanding. If all the warrants were exercised by converting the dollar bonds, there would still remain \$50 million of the dollar issue outstanding.

CHIPS: Problems at Little GCA Stir Big Fears About U.S. National Security

(Continued from first finance page) three years ago, closed at \$2 on Friday, and the New York Stock Exchange is threatening to delist the company.

Survival depends on the success of an unusual "rights offering," just now beginning, that could raise \$4 million. But it will come at the price of greatly diluting the value of the shares held by GCA's remaining investors, and will bring in Sumitomo Corp. of Japan as a significant minority owner.

"We've never been more than a step away from Chapter 11 from the day I walked in here," said Richard Rifenburgh, The Pittsburgh investor took over as chairman last March after the sudden departure of the chairman, two successive presidents (including one who lasted only eight days), two chief financial officers, the entire board of directors and GCA's top technical wizard.

"Our plan is to make the company survive," said Mr. Rifenburgh, a veteran of ventures in everything from computers to lead crystal glasses to a small electric power company. "In any event, the product must survive."

Many analysts now think it possible that Mr. Rifenburgh, who has sold off several GCA subsidiaries and cut the payroll by 70 percent, will salvage the company's core.

In the meantime, though, its customers say GCA has lost tremendous ground to Nikon Inc., Canon Inc. and the ASM division of Philips NV — meaning that the center of development of state-of-the-art technology for making semiconductor devices has moved overseas.

That is part of what worries the Pentagon, which — perhaps realizing for the over-dramatic — laments the decline of domestic chip pro-

duction technology to the loss of a nation's capacity to build guns.

A recent CIA report, according to industry executives who were briefed on its findings, concluded that without such technology, U.S. companies could face extraordinary difficulty in designing subminiature chips.

"It's simply something we can't lose, or we will become completely dependent on overseas makers for our most sensitive stuff."

— Donald Latham, Pentagon official

on circuits — those in which the lines of circuitry are less than 25 thousandths of an inch wide. Achieving such submicron scales is considered critical in the design of 4- and 16-megabit memory chips and complex microprocessors.

"We are losing some of the basic industries that we depend on," said Jim Owens, vice president of technology for National Semiconductor Corp. While his company so far has had no problem buying state-of-the-art equipment overseas, he said, "The question that we always have in the back of our minds is: 'Are they giving us the best they have, or are they holding back to gain a competitive advantage?'

Two years ago, Varian Associates of Palo Alto, California, dropped its project to build E-beam chip-making devices, a slow but accurate technology that competes with wafer steppers. Eaton Corp., a competitor of GCA, dropped out of the stepper business last summer, saying it would probably never be profitable.

Among major American produc-

Multi-Tranche Tap Notes Reappear

By Carl Gewirtz
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Multi-tranche tap notes, heralded by Merrill Lynch last autumn as the hottest new instrument to hit the international financial market, reappeared last week with a new \$300 million program for Franklin Savings Association.

Electrolux, the first client to use the Merrill Lynch formula, currently has \$30 million of three-year notes outstanding.

The formula calls for a minimum amount of notes to be issued in any maturity chosen by the issuer. Franklin started offering \$50 million of two-year notes and the amount was increased to \$70 million. No more than \$200 million will be issued in any maturity, which can range from one year to five years.

Franklin's notes are collateralized by Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp. securities. The collateral, valued weekly, amounts to 132 percent of the value of paper sold by Franklin, giving its notes a triple-A rating. The two-year notes were offered with a coupon of 6 1/16 percent, for a yield of 54 basis points, or hundreds of a percentage point, over the yield on comparably dated Treasury paper.

Merrill says it will quote prices in the notes continuously, moving the quote with each change of the Treasury bond price. It noted, however, that the spread of 54 basis points

"will not necessarily be maintained." Given the success of the initial offering, a Merrill spokesman said the spread could probably be cut to 50 basis points.

Electrolux paper, initially sold to

Fireman's Fund Mortgage Corp. has appointed Manufacturers Hanover Trust to arrange a \$300 million multi-option facility, incorporating a revolving credit and a tender panel for the issuance of Treasury notes.

The borrower will pay an annual facility fee of 10 basis points. Interest to draw on the revolving credit will be set at 10 basis points over the London interbank offered rate, or Libor. If more than one-third is used, the utilization fee is 6 basis points; if more than two-thirds is drawn, the additional fee rises to 10 basis points. Front-end fees range up to 7 1/4 basis points for banks underwriting the notes.

In the commercial paper market, New Zealand announced that it had established a \$500 million program with Citicorp and Shearson Lehman Brothers as dealers. The government, which up to now has tapped the short-term market through the sale of Euronotes, said it would consider appointing additional dealers in coming months.

Woolworth Holdings PLC has appointed County NatWest Capital Markets, Citicorp and Morgan Grenfell as dealers to market up to £150 million or its dollar equivalent in commercial paper.

At the same time, Woolworth has arranged a £150 million credit facility of which banks are asked to underwrite £100 million. Woolworth is paying an annual facility fee of 5 basis points and drawing charges of 5 basis points over Libor for up to one-third of the amount. Drawing charges rise to 7 1/2 basis points for up to two-thirds, and 12 1/2 basis points for more than half is drawn.

Prudential Financial Services is seeking a five-year credit of \$75 million or its equivalent in European currency units. It will pay an annual facility fee of 5 basis points and drawing charges of 5 basis points over Libor for up to one-third of the amount. Drawing charges rise to 7 1/2 basis points for up to two-thirds, and 12 1/2 basis points for more than half is drawn.

Montedison of Italy is renegotiating terms on a 100 million ECU credit arranged in early 1985. The maturity remains unchanged, with five years and four months to run. But the interest is now set at 15 basis points over Libor, down from a split 4 1/2- to 5-point margin over Libor. The commitment fee on undrawn amounts has been cut in half to 1/4 percent. A renegotiation fee of 7 1/2 basis points is being offered to lenders.

Given the current speculative

environment, it is almost meaningless to discuss fundamentals when futures play so large a role in the marketplace.

Much of Friday's volatility on Wall Street was laid to arbitrage computer programs that involve

the simultaneous purchase or sale of a basket of stocks that mirror a stock index and the offsetting sale or purchase of stock index futures.

In Chicago, the spot March Treasury bond futures plunged 32/32, or a full point, to close at 100 12/32 on the day. As a result, the yield on the long bond rose to 7.44 percent, from 7.34 percent the day before and 7.33 percent a week ago.

Contrary to traditional patterns, the bond market moved in tandem with the stock market," said Maria F. Ramirez, managing director at Drexel Burnham Lambert.

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the simultaneous purchase or sale of a basket of stocks that mirror a stock index and the offsetting sale or purchase of stock index futures.

In the secondary market for intermediate Treasury issues, the new 6 1/4 percent notes due in 1989 traded on a when-issued basis to yield 6.21 percent, while the 6 1/8 percent issue of 1989 fell 3/32, to 100 2/32, to yield 6.35 percent.

Gasanic was well received, being a rare borrower and thanks also to the attraction of the nine-month warrants to buy additional ECU bonds. The warrants, priced at 22 ECUs, provide big leverage if ECU interest rates drop.

Japanese investors are big buyers of DM bonds as well as paper denominated in European currency units. However, bankers complain that there's little demand for ECU outside Japan. BNP investors currently prefer higher yielding Belgian franc paper now that the franc has revalued twice, albeit at smaller amounts along with the mark.

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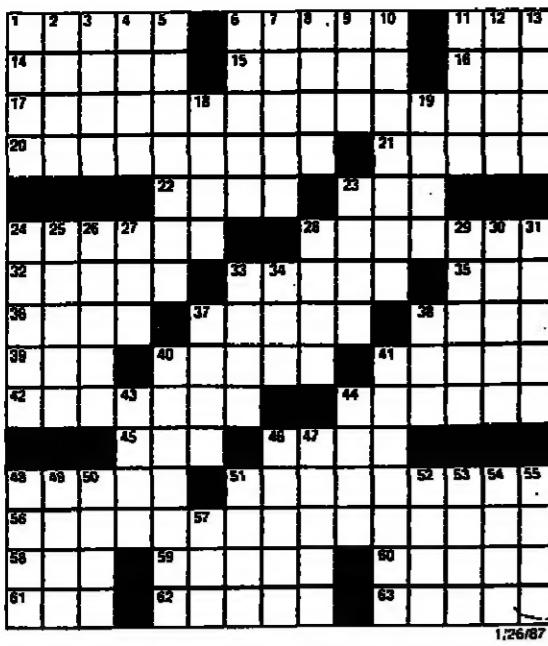
NASDAQ National Market

OTC Consolidated trading for week ended Friday, Jan. 23

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SPORTS

Giants, Broncos Clash in Top U.S. Showcase



ACROSS

- 1 Caesar or Waldorf
- 6 Molten rock in the earth
- 11 Book or Nixon
- 14 Opera part
- 15 Register
- 16 Raute bird
- 17 Film in which Paul Newman played a detective
- 20 What Othello did to Desdemona
- 21 Part of ancient Asia Minor
- 22 Gaelic
- 23 Actor Cariou
- 24 Actress
- 25 Lombard
- 26 Film with Newman as lawyer, with "The"
- 32 Unique persons
- 33 Lock of hair
- 35 Reo or Essex
- 36 Not in harmony
- 37 Greenland airbase
- 38 Smug
- 39 Policeman, to a hood
- 40 Scent
- 41 Lone Ranger's aide
- 42 Film with Newman as pool shark, with "The"
- 44 Unfasten
- 45 Kind
- 46 Casino token
- 48 Magna cum
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Zou Dehua: A Beijing Opera Saga

By Charles D. Sherman

International Herald Tribune

BEIJING — Zou Dehua can turn a Mongolian hot pot lunch into a command performance.

The Juilliard-trained coloratura, a long-time principal singer at Beijing's Central Opera Theater and now a casting director for the opera, finds center stage — wherever it is — comfortable.

Zou keeps five luncheon guests stocked with slivers of mutton, wads of parboiled cabbage and mounds of cellophane noodles, dredging them from the boiling water in the copper hot pot.

Between servings, she talks about a life and career that gives a new definition to the ups and downs normally associated with the pursuit of the arts.

"I had 17 good years," Zou says. They included leading roles in "Figaro," "La Traviata" and many others. But in 1966 the music stopped. Red Guards, foot soldiers in Mao's Cultural Revolution, ordered her off the stage, out of the capital and into the rice paddies to learn from the peasants. "Then I lost my 10 best years," she said.

She relishes talking about the good times, of the 1950s and early '60s when she was cast as a "daughter of the revolution" in such socialist epics as "Song of the Grasslands." Over the last three months, Zou has been auditioning actors and singers for something different: spring productions of "The Music Man" and "The Fantasticks," U.S.-Chinese collaborations that Zou is promoting.

The two shows, she says, suit the talent in China where singers do not usually dance and dancers rarely sing.

She is back in Beijing after the great leap backward. She loves, but she cannot forget that the biggest event between the "Grasslands" and the "Music Man" was the Cultural Revolution.

Her background made her an easy target for the charges of being a bourgeois intellectual and rightist.

Born in 1926, Zou spent a privileged childhood in cosmopolitan Shanghai. Her grandfather was a wealthy landholder; her father, a Cornell University graduate, was



Zou: Back in Beijing after the great leap backward.

an agricultural specialist who later went into banking.

She learned Western singing techniques from a teacher in Shanghai's community of White Russians.

Later when the Communists appeared ready to grasp power in China, Zou's father took a job with the Food and Agriculture Organization. With his wife, four daughters and two sons, he left for New York.

From 1946 to 1950, Zou studied at Juilliard, much of the time under the soprano Dusolina Giannini.

"After the Communists took over in 1949, my feelings was 'a new China is born,'" she said. "It was just like that."

Married to an economist, Wang Zengzhang, who had finished his doctoral studies at the University of Minnesota, Zou and her husband wanted to contribute to rebuilding their home

land. They did not know much about Marxism or Maoism, but they thought they had talent and skills that China needed. "The old government depended on foreigners for its well-being," she said.

"The Communists came up from China itself — a homegrown revolution. Mao seemed like a hero."

Her father failed to convince her to stay in the United States. In 1951, the young couple sailed for Shanghai, following her brothers and two young sisters home.

Also on board were U.S. troops heading for Tokyo and Korea's battlefield.

When China entered the war on the side of North Korea a few months later, the United States, which had been a second home and refuge for her family, became the enemy. "We didn't dare mention that we were graduates from American schools," Zou said.

From 1951 until 1971, when U.S.-Chinese relations relaxed, she had no contact with the sister who had chosen the United States.

In the 1950s Zhou Enlai, then premier, asked Zou's father to return to China and put his agricultural expertise to work.

The Zous had other connections to China's new rulers. Zhou's sister, Dezhien, a Radio Beijing journalist, was once assigned to cover Chairman Mao, who often worked late at night at his residence. But Mao could also play. One evening, he asked Dezhien, who had learned Western-style dancing in the United States, for a few pointers in the fox trot.

But then what many came to view as the great leap backward occurred. Mao's unleashed Chinese youth, convulsing the country with its Cultural Revolution.

One of 80,000 people in Beijing who were forced into the countryside, Zou spent two and half years planting and harvesting rice. Her

husband and daughter were sent to a tea plantation.

When she was finally able to return to Beijing, bureaucrats charged with cultural activities ostracized her. The authorities only permitted performances of 10 operas during the decade of the Cultural Revolution.

No roles were deemed fit for a Western-trained prima donna.

Today things are different. She lives in a two-bedroom, government-supplied apartment (rent \$2 a month). Her home is a few minutes walk from work at the opera where she helps train a new generation of talent.

She has traveled to Europe and to United States several times since 1976, mainly to see her daughter, who was graduated from Wellesley College last year and who is now attending Harvard Law School.

Her husband was assigned from 1980 to 1984 to the United Nations secretariat, giving her a chance to see her family in the United States and renew old friendships.

When she returns to New York, Beverly Sills will give her a handful of tickets for dress rehearsals at the Metropolitan Opera House. Zou had escorted Sills during the U.S. star's visit to China several years ago.

Theater still consumes Zou. In one of her many photo albums is a picture taken of the opera company at a birthday celebration for Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who resided in Beijing following the Khmer Rouge takeover in Cambodia.

There is Premier Zhou, the theater's main patron, applauding the smiling prince. There is Zou in the foreground as a senior member of the opera. And nearby in Jiang Qing, Mao's wife, a former actress, member of the infamous "Gang of Four," and chief harridan of the Cultural Revolution. For her role in instigating the turmoil, she was arrested after Mao's death in 1976 and tried. Jiang's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

Zou smiled at the photo, happy to be where she is and to know where Jiang is. "It's been complicated," she said.

LANGUAGE

Findings on a Presidential Finding

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Gerunds everywhere are

prudent that one of their clan has made it big in Washington: a *finding*, capitalized when used by the National Security Council staff, is the noun that enables a president secretly to suspend a law.(A gerund, called by stiffs a "verbal substantive," is a term in grammar that is forgotten as soon as it is learned. It means "a noun that is formed from a verb and ends in -ing"; in the sentence, *Ducking a question is easy*, the gerund is *ducking*. In addition, when you hold a witness' head under water, you are giving him a good gerund *ducking*; however, when the same word is used as an adjective, it is not a gerund but a participle: *The bobbing, weaving, ducking adviser took the Fifth*.)"In *herby* find" goes the once-secret document signed by President Reagan on Jan. 17, 1986, "and direct the director of central intelligence to refrain from reporting this *finding* to the Congress." In that sentence, *finding* is a gerund, and that noun is dear to executives because it has since 1839 had a judicial connotation: "The result of a judicial examination or inquiry; the verdict of a jury, the decision of a judge or arbitrator." In this case, the National Security Act of 1947 lets the president act as judge of when to obey a law.A shoemaker, holding tacks grimly between clenched lips, will wonder what all the brouhaha is about — to that person, *findings* are the small parts and materials other than leather used to make a shoe (laces, nails, buckles, etc.) — but a secret *finding* is hot stuff to congressmen planning televised hearings. (In the sentence, *The president turned off his hearing aid when the hearings came on the screen*, the adjective *hearing* is a participle because it modifies *aid*, and the noun *hearings* is a gerund.)

The White House press office decided it would be wiser not to withhold the president's finding on Iran arms sales, because it is better to look naive than to look crooked. As a result, we have a document and its attachments that contains what were until recently the most closely guarded words in our government. This department will now analyze that document.

Because of the requirement in U.S. law for recipients of U.S. arms to notify the U.S. government of transfers to third countries," wrote John M. Pounder, then national security adviser, "I do not recommend that you agree with the specific details of the Israeli plan." His prepositional phrase beginning because of and ending with the comma, which gives his reason for the recommended action, would better be placed after the recommendation because it seems now to be directed toward the "I" instead of the action.

"It is their belief that by so doing they can achieve a heretofore uncontrollable penetration of the Iranian governing hierarchy." In that sentence, *uncontrollable* is the wrong modifier for *penetration*. The action desired is the accomplishment or achievement of penetration, not the obtaining of it; therefore, the phrase should be a *heretofore uncontrollable penetration*. If the writer (Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North, who drafted the document for Pounder) wanted to put the sentence in plain English, he would have written, "They believe that is how they can penetrate the Iranian governing hierarchy for the first time."

"In that we have been unable to exercise any *influence* over *herbalkol*." Although in that is not slang, it is a weak and awkward way to avoid the use of *influence*, which is akin to beginning a sentence with *Steering* or *...ing* . . .

"A dependency would be established . . . thus allowing the provider[s] to coercively influence near-term events." That coercively is one word too many; the phrase would better be left with its infinite unimpli- because it is possible simply "to influence events" near-term or otherwise. The verb *coerce* means "to force or compel"; coercively, the usually *adverb*, is probably intended here to mean "more than strongly"; however, the "force" meaning of the adverb overpowers rather than modifies the adverb.

If the writer's intent was to emphasize influence, then strongly to influence or forcefully to influence would have been a more puissant intensifier, because forcefully does the job without meaning "using force." However, if the Northdexter intent was well beyond influence, the drafter should have used a verb such as determine or dictate.

"The *Secretaries do not recommend you proceed with this plan*." This is a confusing or deceptive construction. Does it mean that the secretaries (of state and defense) do not have a recommendation? In that we know now see how weak in that is! that Secretaries George P. Shultz and Caspar W. Weinberger vigorously opposed the plan, the line should have read: "The secretaries recommend that you do not proceed with this plan." The misplacement of the do was inadvertently or intentionally misleading.

That sort of sloppy writing would ordinarily cause most citizens to be incensed at the disservice done the president, but it turns out he didn't read it anyway. In a handwritten notation on the appendix to the Finding, Poindexter wrote: "President was briefed verbally from this paper."

Which raises the question: does verbally still mean "by use of words, either spoken or written," or has it come to mean "orally"? My long-held position is that usage has changed *verbally* to mean exclusively oral, but prescriptivists of the stature of Jacques Barzun and John Simon strongly (though certainly not coercively) disagree.

The last time I verbalized in print on this subject, the biologist Lawrence F. Kunkel of New York City put in this objection: "Many communications in the animal world are made orally, by mouth. All sorts of animals grunt, howl, chirp, bray or otherwise vocalize through their buccal cavities. Even ants communicate orally, through mutual feeding by regurgitation, a behavior known as trophallaxis, which functions in part to communicate information concerning the colony. Only one species of animal communicates verbally, with words."

That is as good a case as I have read for using verbal to mean "communicate with words," but I would have to side with John Poindexter in his use of *verbally*; his point would have been clearer if he had written "orally," but most people today take *verbally* to be its synonym. Purists will hate it, but that's my finding.

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